

# LIVES, English and Forein,

VIZ.

Duke of Hamilton.	Admiral Ruyter.
General Blake.	Viscount Turenne.
Duke of Albemarle.	Prince of Conde.
Earl of Shaftsbury.	Admiral Tromp.
Duke of Monmouth.	Duke of Lorrain.

Including the  
History of ENGLAND,  
A N D  
Other NATIONS of EUROPE,  
F R O M  
The Year 1550, to the Year 1690.

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By Several Hands.

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VOL. II.

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T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
J A M E S  
Duke of *Hamilton*.

**T**HIS unfortunate Gentleman was born the 19th. of June 1606. his Father was *James Marquess of Hamilton*, a Person in great Favour with King *James I.* who created him Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*, made him Knight of the Garter, and Lord Steward of the Household; his Mother was the Lady *Anne Cunningham*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glencairn*. His Parents marry'd him when he was scarce fourteen Years of Age, to the Lady *Mary Fielding*, the Earl of *Denbigh's* Daughter, by the Duke of *Buckingham's*

B Sister;

Sister ; the Lady was but seven Years of Age, when the Contract of Marriage was made; which Affair hinder'd the young Lord's Studies; for being sent for to Court to be marry'd, tho' he went afterwards to *Oxford*, yet his stay at Court interrupted the Course of his Studies so much, that he never recover'd it. His early Marriage had the usual Success of such Contracts. Twas a long while before he cou'd bring himself to love his Wife, but his own good Nature, and the Lady's eminent Vertues, chang'd his first Aversion to an exemplary Tenderness, which lasted till her Death. His Father the Marquess of *Hamilton* dy'd in 1625. and King *James* not long after. His Son Prince *Charles* had always a particular Kindness for the Marquess, and being come to the Crown, began to shew it with extraordinary Marks of Favour and Distinction. The young Marquess on his Father's Death, tho' very much in the King's good Graces, retir'd from Court, to live a while in *Scotland*. His Father's generous Temper having left his private Affairs in such Confusion, as requir'd the Marquess's Presence to set them in order; he had not been there long before the King wrote to him to return, and again sent him another Invitation, all with his own Hand; but the Marquess preferr'd a Country Life, and was loth to leave his Quiet and his Pleasures at *Hamilton*. The Duke of *Buckingham* press'd him

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him warmly in his Letters, and the Earl of Denbigh (his Father-in-Law) made a Journey to Scotland, carrying with him a third Letter from the King, to draw him from his Retirement to London. The Duke of Buckingham's Murder made the Place of Master of the Horse vacant, which his Majesty offend him by the Lord Denbigh; the Bearer and the Message were too Powerful to sue in vain, so the Marquess left Hamilton and came to Court in the Year 1628. where he was presently made Master of the Horse, Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, and Privy-Counsellor in both Kingdoms. His Majesty carry'd himself towards him more like a Friend than a Master, yet he demeaned himself so modestly, that very few did envy his good Fortune. The King's Sister, the Queen of Bohemia seeing him in such Favour, recommended the Care of her Affairs to him, and put her whole Confidence in him: Gustavus Adolphus having about this time enter'd Germany, to restore the Free Cities and Sovereign Princes to their Rights and Liberties, invaded by the House of Austria; none had suffer'd more than the King of Bohemia, who for aiming at that Crown, was driven, not only out of Bohemia, but from his Hereditary Territories, the Palatinate. King James being a Prince very Ignorant in the Affairs of the Field, and very loth to engage in any War; he suffer'd himself to be imposed

pos'd on by the *Spanish* Ministers, in hopes of having his Son-in-Law restor'd by a Treaty which the House of *Austria* design'd shou'd never take effect; and King *Charles* willing to make use of this Opportunity of the King of *Sweden's* entring *Germany*, and being every where Victorious, he gave the Marques of *Hamilton* leave to raise an Army in his own Name (for his Majesty was not willing to break with *Spain*) and to conduct them into *Germany*. He had great Offers made him by the Ministers of *Spain*, if he wou'd not be concern'd in the Design, but he scorn'd them. *May 29. 1630.* Prince *Charles* was born, and the Marques represented the King of *Bohemia* as one of his God-Fathers at the Font. My Lord *Hamilton* having receiv'd a Commission from the King of *Sweden* to be General of the Forces, sent Mr. *Elphinston* to ~~the King of Sweden~~ to assure him he wou'd be ready with his Army in *July*, and to desire his *Swedish* Majesty to get ready the four thousand Men he was to provide by the Articles before-mention'd, and to appoint the Place at which the Marques was to land, according to the said Stipulation. The King of *Sweden* committed the levying of three thousand Foot and a thousand Horse to Colonel *Fahrenbach*, who went over to the Emperor; but tho' the Levies were by this means delay'd, the King of ~~Sweden~~ press'd the Marques to hasten his coming, and his Army was

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was made up of *English* and *Scots*; the latter were to imbark at *Leith*, and the former at *Tarmouth*. The Lord *Ochiltree* accus'd the Marquess, that his Design in raising this Army, was to secure the Crown of *Scotland* to himself, but the King was so far from believing it, that tho' the Marquess pray'd he might be try'd, the King wou'd not suffer it, but commanded him to lie that Night in his Bed-Chamber, so little Jealousy had his Majesty of the Marquess's Fidelity. *Ochiltree* was convicted of Forgery, and condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, and accordingly continu'd twenty Years in *Blackness-Castle*. On the 16th. of *July*, the Marquess set Sail from *Tarmouth-Road* with forty Ships, and on the 27th. arriv'd at *Elsenore*, where he went a-shoar to wait on the King of *Denmark*. On the 29th. he set Sail again, and on the 31st. came to the Mouth of the *Oder*, between *Volgast* and the Isle of *Usedom*, where the *Swedes* first landed. Here he landed his Men, who on a Muster were found to be six thousand effective. The 4th. of *August*, he pass'd over to the *Continent*, and met with an Order from the King of *Sweden* to march into *Silesia*, to reduce that rich Province. The King receiv'd him with much Joy, and sent him a Commission to be his General in *Silesia*.

The Fame of this Army, and of the *Scots* Valour, was serviceable to the King of

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Sweden, encouraging his own Troops, and disheartning the Enemy; besides that, it oblig'd Tilly to have six thousand Men more in his Garrisons, than otherwise he wou'd have done, which weaken'd him at the next Battel. A little after his arrival, the Marquess went to the King of Sweden at Werben on the Elbe; the King caress'd him with high Expressions of Kindness, and excus'd himself, that he cou'd not comply with his Articles of joyning four thousand Men to his Forces, because he expected every day to give Tilly Battel; but he bid him Levy what Germans he cou'd, and himself wou'd pay them. So he sent him to keep Castrin, Franckfort, Lansberg, and other Passes on the Oder, for his Retreat in case he were beaten. The Marquess march'd his Army from Stetin to Franckfort, but the Famine was so great in the Country, he cou'd scarce subsist. The Plague also broke out at Frankfort, and infected his Forces, of whom it swept away above a third Part in a few days, and came so near the Marquess, that one of his Pages dy'd of it. After the great Victory of Leipsick the King of Sweden order'd him to march up to Silesia, yet commanded no more than two hundred Horse and three hundred Swedish Foot to joyn him. At this time the Marquess had notice that Crossen, a Garrison of the Swedes on the borders of Silesia, was besieg'd, he immediately sent Lesty (afterwards

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wards Earl of *Levin*) with five hundred Men to their Relief, who no sooner arriv'd, but the Enemy retir'd with precipitation. *Lestly* having reliev'd *Crossen*, surpriz'd *Guben*, taking two hundred and fifty Soldiers and four Captains Prisoners. The taking of this Frontier Town encourag'd his little Army, who were setting forward for *Glogow*, the second Town of *Silesia*, when he receiv'd Letters from *Gustavus Adolphus*, telling him, 'That by his Agreement with the Duke of *Saxony*, that Elector had undertaken to reduce *Silesia*, and appointing the Marquess to follow him into the *Lower-Saxony*. The King of *Sweden* apprehended that *Silesia* being united to the Crown of *Bohemia*, 'twould not be for his Interest to trust the Marquess with it. He was loth to leave that rich Country, and march back into barren and wasted Fields. He thought once of going forward at all Adventures, but the King of *Sweden* had order'd his Garrisons thereabouts to acknowledge him no more; so he was forc'd to return to *Custrin*, where he got Orders to besiege *Magdeburg*. His Army was strangely diminish'd, he left a thousand behind him with the Plague upon them, another thousand was divided in Garrisons, and he had not above fifteen hundred of his own Men, with about three thousand *German* Foot whom he had rais'd. With these and a thousand *Swedish* Horse, he block'd up *Magdeburg*,

the Chief Town of *Lower-Saxony*; the Garrison consisting of three thousand Men, commanded by one of the Counts of *Mansfield*. The Place was rich and great Importance; but the Marquess cou'd have no great hopes to carry it, when they were almost as strong within as he without, for when *Bannier* came up with his Supply, his Forces were not seven thousand Horse and Foot in the whole; there was no attempting it by Storm, and it cou'd not be conquer'd, but by starving them. On the 24th. of *December*, however, the Garrison came to a Parley, and wou'd have yielded the Place in few days, if the Enemy had not had notice of *Papenheim's* approach to their Relief. This broke off the Treaty, and *Bannier* was for retiring; the Marquess pray'd him to stay, but he produc'd Orders to command all the *Dutch* and *Swedish* Forces, and not hazard an Engagement; the Marquess look'd on it as a great breach of Articles, that any shou'd have command in his Army besides himself, but he must be patient. He then retir'd to *Saltsa*, two Leagues from the City, where he expected Duke *Weimar* with five thousand Men, and resolv'd on his arrival to give *Papenheim* Battel. *Weimar* came not, and *Bannier* drew his Men yet farther off to *Kalbe*, and pass'd the River *Salta*. *Papenheim* drew the Garrison out of *Magdeburg*, and carry'd off every thing that was possible, finding the Town not to be tenable.

W hen

When he march'd out of the Place, the Marquess fac'd him on a Plain betwixt Kalbe and Saltsa, and tho' very much weaker, wou'd have engag'd, had Bannier consented. *Rapenheim* had no mind to provoke them, and so he march'd away. The Lord *Hamilton*, after the *Imperialists* were gone, entred the City, where he found forty Pieces of Cannon, and Store of Provisions; he staid there till the beginning of *February*, that the King of *Sweden* order'd him to lie about *Halberstadt*. His Soldiers were ill entertain'd, and the German mercenaries murmur'd for want of Pay, which the King of *Sweden* was to advance. The Marquess went to his Majesty to remonstrate to him on the breach of Agreement; the King receiv'd him with his usual Kindness, yet the Treaty went on slow. Sir *Henry Vane* desir'd the Marquess might have an Army, which with the Forces to be sent from *England*, might fall in on the *Palatinate*; but the King's Demands were so high, that had the *Palatinate* been in its most flourishing Condition, more cou'd not have been expected. In *April* 1632. the Marquess desir'd some Care shou'd be taken of the remainder of his Army, till he got a new one; for they were reduc'd to two Regiments of *English* and *Scots*, the *English* commanded by Colonel *Bellardin*, and the *Scots* by Colonel *Hamilton*. The Lord Marquess was now blam'd for preferring his Country-men to the brave

Sir

Sir Jacob Ashley, who deserv'd the Command of one of the Regiments; and King Charles hints at the Injustice done him, in his Letter of the last of April, sent by Sir Jacob, who had been in *England* to give the King an account of the State of Affairs in *Germany*. All this Summer the Marquess serv'd in *Gustavus Adolphus's* Army as a Voluntier, and found he must not expect to be trusted near the *Palatinate*, he therefore wrote to know his Master's Pleasure, who wrote back, *That if he cou'd not be serviceable in the Palatinate, he shou'd take the first civil Excuse to come home.*

The King of *Sweden* was much chang'd with his Fortune, and look'd on himself as Master of *Germany*. My Lord desir'd leaye to return to *England*, and raise an Army, for which the King gave him a new Commission the 8th. of September, and dismiss'd him with many Expressions of Friendship, telling him, *In whatever part of the World he were, he wou'd ever look upon him as one of his own;* and to him the Minister of *Sweden* always apply'd during the Minority of Queen *Christina*, after the Death of *Gustavus Adolphus* in the Battel of *Lutzen*, Nov. 1632. The Marquess's reception at Court was as kind as his parting had been, but he meddled little for some Years in *Scottish* Affairs.

In 1637. the Troubles began in *Scotland*, which were the rise of ours in *England*; the King wou'd impose the Service-Book and Ceremo-

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Ceremonies on the Church of *Scotland*; the Bishops were charg'd with favouring Popery, and *Arminianism*, and breach of the Sabbath, which the Kirk of *Scotland* had a great Respect for, and generally, the Morality of it is reckon'd an Article of Faith amongst them. The Nobility were jealous that the Clergy wou'd incroach again on the temporal Power. Arch-Bishop *Spottiswood*, having been a long while Lord-Chancellor, the Bishop of *Ross* stood fair for the Treasurer's Staff. The Presbyters dislik'd Episcopacy, and their meddling with worldly Business gave great occasion for the Minister's decrying that Order in their Pulpits to heighten their Spirits already enflam'd; the Liturgy was read in *Edinburg* by the Dean, who no sooner began the Service the 23d. of *July* 1637. than Men, Women and Children rose tumultuously, interrupted him in his Reading, flung their Stools at him, and the Lords of the Council and the Magistrates cou'd not hinder it. In the Afternoon, the People attack'd the Bishop in the Lord *Roxburgh*'s Coach, and had not my Lord run the hazard of his Life to save him, that Prelate wou'd have been the first Martyr of the Liturgy in the three Kingdoms. The King put out a Proclamation to appease them, but it did not satisfy; the People of Quality now own the Quarrel, and they hold Meetings to consult of their Security, which were call'd the

*Tables.*

*Tables*. They desire Religion may be settled, and swear the Covenant, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Cassils* and *Montross* were Chiefs of this Party, and the Kirk was loud against Episcopacy; the Multitude gather'd together at *Edinburgh*, and the Lords of the Covenant petition the King to redress their Grievances in Church and State. Arch-Bishop *Laud* was the great Fomenter of this Quarrel, confirming his Majesty in his Design to refuse them those Terms which he wou'd gladly have bought a Peace with afterwards. The *Tables* continu'd their Meetings, and the People went on swearing the Covenant. The Distraction in *Scotland* grew daily greater, and the King to put an end to them, resolv'd to send a Commissioner: The Marquess of *Hamilton* was thought most proper, and was dispatch'd with Instructions to temporize a little, and by delaying, to give a positive Answer to the Lords Demands, put a stop to the present Disorders, hoping the Peoples Heats wou'd cool in time; the Marquess unwillingly accepts of the Employ, and goes to *Scotland*.

In the mean time the Covenanters at *Edinburgh* set Guards on the Castle, and the Report was, That the Lord Commissioner intended to summon the Covenanting Lords to a Meeting at *Dalkeith*, and there blow them up, which was rumour'd to make him Odious; Most of the Council were for the

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the Covenant, the Bisho<sup>p</sup>s hated by all, and only the Lords *Traquair*, *Roxburgh* and *Southesk* were well affected, that is, were for complying with the Court, and for o<sup>beying</sup> the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*'s Command in Church-Discipline. When the Marquess arriv'd at *Dalkeith*, he heard fifteen hundred Men were set to guard the Gates of *Edinburgh*, and that the Lords of the *Tables* had taken the Keys of the City from the Magistrates, that they had design'd ways to secure the Castle, and threaten'd to force both Commissioner, Council, and Session to take the Covenant. They were resolv'd to hear of no Proclamation for Pardon and Dispersing, unless the Service-Book, and Book of Canons were discharg'd, Episcopacy limited, and an Assembly of Parliament pres-ently call'd. For this the Marquess had no Instruction, and durst not publish any of the King's Declarations, knowing they wou'd be protested against. The Marquess wrote to the King to send down two thousand Land-Forces immediately to Garrison *Berwick* with fifteen hundred Men, and *Carlisle* with five hundred, and to follow in Person with a Royal-Army, assuring him, that nothing but Force wou'd make the *Scots* quit their Covenant. He first apply'd himself to disperse the Multitude, and having receiv'd Addres-ses from the Town of *Edinburgh* to come to *Holyrood-House*, he refus'd it, except the Guards

Guards of the Gates in and about the Castle were dismiss'd; this done, he went thither on the 9th. of June 1638. The Covenanters met there were guess'd to be sixty thousand, among whom were five hundred Ministers; whom he sooth'd with fair words and winning Carriage, and the Multitudes began to go off; yet the Covenant was so dear to them, he durst not mention their delivering it up. The King writes him the 11th. of June, *That he wou'd rather die than yield to their impertinent and damnable Demands, yet wou'd not have them declar'd Traytors till a Fleet was ready.* The Marques's endeavour'd to gain the Lords of the Session, but he found them wavering, and the Judges and Lawyers wou'd not declare the Covenant *Seditious and Treasonable*, tho' the King by his Letter of the 13th. of June, bade the Lord Commissioner get a considerable Number of Sessioners and Advocates to declare the Covenant against Law. On the 16th. of June the *Tables* presented a Petition to the Marques for redress of Grievances, and said, *They wou'd not be put off with Delays.* Many of the King's Friends mov'd that the Covenant might pass with an Explanation, and the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews drew it up; to which the King wrote him to give Ear, *to win time*, and the 20th. of June gives him an account that the Army is almost ready, consisting of sixteen thousand Men; that the Artillery is in great forward-

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forwardness, and he intends not to yield to the Demands of those Traytors the Covenanters, and cares not for their affronting or disobeying his Declarations : And again, the 25th. So long as this damnable Covenant is in force, I have no more Power in Scotland than as a Duke of Venice. On this the Marques spoke ~~by, out,~~ and the Covenanters with more submission ; and the Lords Covenanters wrote for Leave to come to *London* to give the King an account of the Affairs, which his Majesty permitted, and *Laud* advis'd him to add to his Declarations some general Words, giving hopes of an Assembly and Parliament. The Marques reliev'd the Bishops out of his own Pocket, who were driven from their Diocesses, and was very liberal to the suffering Clergymen. The Session was to sit again at *Edinburgh*, and to censure any thing that came from the *Tables*; he took the Covenanters Petition, and promis'd to present it to the King, and return his Majesty's Answer by the 5th. of *August*, which satisfy'd them for the present. On the 4th. of *July* the long expected Proclamation was publish'd, which met with a Protestation from the *Tables*, and whatever the Marques cou'd do or say, many of the Lords of the Council declar'd against the Proclamation. They secur'd *Dunbriton-Castle*, and were for negotiating with the Earl of *Mar* for that of *Edinburgh*, when the King sent the Marques a Letter to hasten to *London*,

where

where he gave the King a large Relation of the State of *Scotland*, and got new Instructions, with Power to call a Parliament. The King by the Marquess's Advice, wrote a Letter to the Council, and sign'd a Declaration to convince the World of his being firm in the Protestant Religion (which the Kirk then pretended to suspect) and sent a Confession of Faith, with a Bond annex'd to be sign'd by his Subjects in *Scotland* instead of the *Covenant*; for we must by no means give that horrid Name to his Majesty and his Royal Father's Association against Popery. The Marquess on his return to *Edinburgh*, told the Covenanters when they apply'd to him, That he had a full ~~assurance~~<sup>Answer</sup> to their Petition, and the next day in Council produc'd his Majesty's Letter and Declaration, with which the Covenanters were not at all satisfy'd. They were for Assembly and Parliament to be call'd immediately, and the Lord Commissioner wou'd have them first comply with the King's Terms of Obedience. They continu'd treating till the 20th. of *August*, and threaten'd to summon a Parliament and an Assembly themselves. The Marquess desir'd twenty days time to know the King's Pleasure, which he did to shew his Majesty, he must either break with them, or give way to the full Carrer of their Zeal. In order to this, he took a third Journey to Court, and at *Broxmouth* the

the Lord Commissioner, the Lords *Traquair*, *Roxburgh* and *Southesk* drew up Articles of Advice, for him to present the King, wherein they recommended to his Majesty, to lay aside the Confession of Faith and Declaration, and renew King James's National Covenant, usually call'd the *Negative Confession*, containing a renuntiation of all the Articles of Popery, which the Bishop of *Salisbury* affirms, was the Ground of the present Covenant : but this his Majesty was at first against yielding to. The Marques having got other Instructions, return'd again to *Scotland*, and summon'd an Assembly to meet at *Glasgow* the 21st. of *November*, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 15th. of *May* next. Yet neither this nor King James's Covenant was sufficient ; nothing wou'd satisfie the Lords of the *Tables*, but the abolishing Episcopacy ; which the Lord Commissioner gave the King an account, was their Design, tho' his Majesty did not so much fear it as the Marques did ; however, he went on with Preparations of War, in case of a Rupture. The Lord Commissioner publish'd the King's Proclamation with the *Negative Confession*, and solicited for Subscriptions against which the Covenanters Protested, and his Majesty was for Punishing them ; which he or his Commissioner wou'd have found a difficult Enterprise. The Marques nam'd Commissioners in the Shires to procure Subscriptions

to the King's Covenant, and put in the Earls of *Roxburgh* the Chief of the *Wards* for one of them. Which displeas'd the King, and was censur'd by some hon. Persons for a betraying of the Episcopal Cause; the Lord *Roxburgh* being head of the Covenanters, was esteem'd an unfit Man to prosecute that which was intended to ruin the Covenanters. Yet the King at last was convinced that my Lord *Hamilton* acted Politickly in it. The Kirk preach'd everywhere against King James's Negative Confession, and most of the Lords in the King's Interest were backward in procuring Subscriptions, tho' in all there were twenty eight thousand that sign'd; of which the Marques of *Hunstey* got twelve thousand; the Lord of *Argyle* hinder'd a hvy Subscription in that Shire, alledging, since the Assembly was so near, 'twas fit to see what they wou'd determin about it; some were for Proroguing the Assembly, but the King fear'd that might exasperate the Covenanters too much; the Lord *Roxburgh* and other Covenanters petition'd for a Warrant to cite the Bishops before the Assembly; the Marquess reply'd, There was no President for such a Citation, and it cou'd not be granted. Yet the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* gave Warrants for Summons, wherein all the Bishops respectively were cited as guilty of *Heresy*, *Simony*, *Perjury*, *Incest*, *Adultery*, *Fornication*, *Breach of the Sabbath* &c, which horrid Libel was read in the College-Churches of every mid gaibbid Church.

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 Church of Edinburgh after his Communion,  
 and in all the Churches by her Scotland: This  
 Citation was made publickly to render the Bish-  
 ops odious to the People; for when the  
 Assembly took the Matter into Consideration,  
 they avoided the examining their personal  
 Vices as a groundless and malicious Charge,  
 and fell immediately on abolishing Episco-  
 pacy itself. Most of the Lords of the Ses-  
 sion sign'd the Covenant, and things went  
 cross every where, only the Lord Marr re-  
 sign'd Edinburgh Castle to the King for two  
 thousand Pounds sterling, and the Lord Com-  
 missioner took possession of it, which he  
 found very ill provided for Defence; he made  
 General Ruthen Goverour, one who was  
 ever Loyal to the King, and Zealous for  
 the Church. The King had not Money in  
 his Treasury sufficient to answer the Mar-  
 quess's Occasions, who spar'd no Cost in  
 his Majesty's Service; he gave the Arch-  
 Bishop of St. Andrews two thousand five  
 hundred Pounds out of his own Purse, to  
 part with the Chancellor's Place, and gave  
 the Lord Marr Security for his two thou-  
 sand Pounds, that Lord declaring he wou'd  
 have nothing to do with the Exchequer.  
 The Lord Commissioner having receiv'd Direc-  
 tions from Court, set out the 16th. of No-  
 vember for Glasgow, requiring the Lords of  
 the Council to follow him, as also the King's  
 Advocate, bidding him prepare to defend

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Episcopacy to be according to the Laws of Scotland ; the Advocate, debauch'd by the Covenanters, answer'd, That he judg'd Episcopacy to be contrary to the Word of God, and to the Laws of that Church and Kingdom. The 21st. of November the Assembly sat, and the Marques made a Speech to them, which had before been agreed on at Court. There was little done the first Day, but the next a Declinator was presented to the Commissioner in the name of the Arch-bishops and Bishops against the Assembly, which was not read without great Difficulty. Mr. Henderson was chosen Moderator, and it being put to the Vote, whether the Assembly was Free or not, notwithstanding the Bishops Declinator ; the Marques knowing how twould go, made another Speech to them, shewing them the Illegality of their Proceedings, and forbade them to proceed under Pain of Treason. Mr. Henderson and the Lord Rothes said, they were sorry he left them, but their Consciences bore them Witness they had hitherto done nothing amiss, and cou'd not desert the Work of God, as they call'd it. The Privy Council confirm'd what the Marques had done, and wrote to the King commanding his Zeal and Industry, which his Majesty approv'd in his Letter of the 7th. of December 1638. The Earl of Argyll now declar'd for the Assembly, who proceeded and condemn'd the Service-Book and the

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the Book of Canons; the Marques's proclaim'd  
those that continu'd to sit Traytors, and got  
forty Men privately into the Castle of Edin-  
burgh, but when the Covenanters heard it, they  
beset it so close, it was as good as a Siege.  
After the Assembly had depos'd the Bishops  
and excommunicated Eight of them, they  
ended their Busines with a Letter to the  
King, justifying their Actions, and complain-  
ing of the Commissioner, who with trouble  
and fatigue fell sick, and so remain'd till the  
middle of December; on the 28th. having put  
things in the best Order he cou'd, he went  
to Court, leaving the chief Care of the Go-  
vernment to the Lord Traquair. He arriv'd  
at White-Hall the 5th of January, and his  
Majesty was satisfy'd with what he had done,  
resolving now no more to treat with the Co-  
venanters, but to raise thirty thousand Horse  
and Foot to curb the Scottish Insolences, or  
rather to reinstall the Bishops, who were li-  
beral in England in their Loans and Dona-  
tions, and in getting the Clergy to assist in  
it; but the People were generally averse  
to the War. The Earl of Arundel was  
made General, the Earl of Essex Lieute-  
nant-General of the Foot, and the Earl of  
Holland to command the Horse: The Lord  
Antrim was to bring twelve thousand Men  
out of Ireland to fall on Argile-Shire, and  
the Earl of Strafford to come with the Forces  
of that Kingdom and enter Dumbrition-Firth,  
and thus

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and the Marquess offer'd to put Arminius  
to his Hands; this Lord was command'd  
at Sea, and all things were carry'd on with  
Secrecy; Arundel, Kars and Strafford being  
the King's only Confidants in the War. The  
Covenanters were not idle, they order'd a  
Committee of War in every Shire, they  
rais'd Forces for their Defence, and were in  
no great fear of the English, among whom  
the Puritans were as angry with Laud as  
themselves, and the Rupture being thought  
to be that Prelate's Contrivance and sup-  
ported by the Clergy's Contributions, was  
thence call'd the Bishops War. The Coven-  
nenters sent for General Leslie out of Ger-  
many, and gave him the command of their  
Forces. About the middle of March 1639,  
the King puts forth his Proclamation of the  
Reasons of his Expedition against the Scots.  
This News set Scotland in a Flame, and the Co-  
venanters resolv'd to get the start of the King,  
so Leslie with some Companies peraded the  
Gates, and set Ladders to the Walls of Edin-  
burgh-Castle, which was yelded without re-  
sistance. The Lord Huntley in the North was  
the only Noble-man who made any consid-  
erable Opposition, and him the Lords Montrose  
and Marshal took Prisoner in Turefob  
Thus Scotland became in the power of the  
Covenanters, while the King was making his  
Preparations to attack them. He march'd  
Northward the 27. of March, with his Army  
consisting

consisting of twenty thousand braye Men, all well disciplin'd, and led by Officers of great Experience. The Marques's was left at London to prepare the Fleet, and see that the other Land Forces, who were to be ship'd in some Colliers, might be ready to go aboard upon Order. From London he went to Tarmouth Road to take in Soldiers, five thousand Men waited for him there, with whom about the end of March he set sail, and the 19th. he arriv'd at Inby Island, and thence sail'd for Dens Road, where he cast Anchor the 2. of May. As soon as he came there the Country was gathered for defence of the Coast. He sent for the Clerk of the Council to come to him to publish the Kings Proclamation of Pardon to all that did submit. The Proclamation he mesl'd in a Letter to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, commanding them to see it publish'd, which was not done; and the Marques's having inform'd himself of the strength of the Covenanters, advis'd the King to listen to a Treaty. While he was in the Firth, the Lords of the Council wrote to him, and came to Treat; but the Lord Marques's requiring their Obedience to his Majesty's Proclamation, nothing was done in it. On the 14th. of May the Marques's dispatch'd Sir James Hamilton to the King, for his positive Orders how to proceed, and again recommended a Treaty, to which His Majesty consented, only till he

brought his Army on the Borders. The Covenanters wrote threatening Letters, increasing the number of their own Forces, and lesning the King's, to work on the Marquessto hearken to their terms; but his Loyalty was invincible , yet he was always for accomodating Matters peaceably. His Majesty order'd him to send two of his Regiments to him, which the Marques did, though it weaken'd him so much he cou'd pretend to do nothing in the *Firth*, except to intercept the Fishermen. The Lord *Aboyn* came next from his Majesty to him, to get some of his Men ; but his Propositions were so unfeaceable, that the Marques was loath to leave himself without a sufficient Force for his own defence, unless *Aboyn* cou'd have giv'n him more encouragement: yet this his Prudent Conduct, and the Visits his Mother, who sided with the Covenanters, made him in *Leith Road*, were imputed to him for Treachery or Fear. By this time the King was encamp'd at *Birks*, three Miles from *Berwick*; and the Proclamation was publish'd first at *Heywood*, and after at *Duns* by General *Arundel* and *Ruthen*. The King having wrote to the Marques the 2d. of June, That he let him loose to do what mischief he cou'd. The Marques resolv'd presently to fall upon *Pristonpuns*, a Town belonging to a Cousin of his, nor to spare his own Burrough Towns. In the mean while the Lord

Lord of *Holland* with one thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot, march'd to *Kelso*, which when the *Scots* discover'd, they presently came forth with one hundred and fifty Horse, and five thousand Foot. My Lord sent a Trumpet, commanding them to retreat. The *Scots* ask'd him whose Trumpet he was, he said, the Lord *Hollands*: They answer'd, he had best to be gone, and my Lord took their advice, made his retreat, and return'd to the Kings Camp. His Majesty hearing *Lesley* advanc'd with twenty thousand Men, of whom six thousand were already come to *Kelso*; and seeing, as the Lord *Hamilton* had told him in the Gallery at *White-Hall* before this Expedition, that the *English* wou'd not engage heartily in the War, he dispatch'd an Express to the Marquess not to begin with the Covenanters, but to settle things in a safe Posture, and wait on his Majesty at *Hantley* Field near *Birks*; which Order he obey'd, and this hinder'd him from assisting the Lords *Kirby* and *Aboyne*, who wrote to him for Succor, the Letters reacht him as he was on his way to the Camp, where a Treaty was begun. Yet the omission (as 'twas urg'd) of not sending aid to those Lords, was the ground of an Accusation against him. The Earl of *Dumfermline* sent a Petition from the *Scots*, desiring a safe Conduct for such as they shou'd send to the King's Camp:

The Life of James I Part I  
Camp; with their humble desires and offers  
for a Treaty. The Earls of *Pembroke*, *Dum-  
fermline*, the Lord *London*, the Sheriff of  
*Teviotdale*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, and  
Mr. *Archibald Johnston*, were appointed to  
be their Commissioners. For the King the  
Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Devonshire*,  
Sir *Henry Vane*, and Secretary *Coke*. The  
Scots first propos'd that Religion and Li-  
berty might be secur'd, upon which they  
shou'd behave themselves like good Subjects.  
The Marques's Affection to his Country  
made him employ his whole Interest with  
the King, for procuring a gracious Answer.  
Offering, if 'twoud be serviceable to his  
Majesties Affairs, to have the whole fault  
laid on him, and that the King shou'd dis-  
own what he had done; but his Majesty  
wou'd not hear of it. The Marques in  
all his Letters to the King assur'd him  
'twoud not be an easie Task to tame the  
Scots, and wou'd cost much Money, and  
many Men. He therefore desir'd his Ma-  
jesty to consider, whether 'twere not fit he  
shou'd consent to abolish Episcopacy, and  
give way to the Covenant, at least till better  
times. The King gave for answer to the  
Scots Commissioners, that a Parliament and  
an Assembly shou'd be call'd, whose Acts  
he wou'd Ratifie as to Religion and Liberty,  
and the Covenanters knowing they shou'd  
get both Sessions to their mind, concluded  
in  
a Peace

at Peaderon what condition? The Lord Hamilton's share in the Treaty was by his Letters to the King, for the Pacification had been sign'd some hours before he arrived at Birken, his absence, says the Lord Clarendon, freed him from the reproach of it, and hereby he preserv'd himself in Credit, in order to do more mischief. The Reader must judge of the reasonableness of this Reflection by the sequel of our History.

The King's Castles were to be deliver'd to him, and the 2d. of June the Marquess went to take Possession of that of Edinburgh. Accordingly on the 24th. he came to that City, but met with such treatment from the Vulgar, that he was forc'd to desire some of the Lords of the Covenant to wait on him to the Castle, to prevent a Tumult. The Tables continu'd to sit, pretending they shou'd do so till all things were settled, and the Covenanters were as insolent since the Peace, as during the War. The Marquess foreseeing the Treaty wou'd not put an end to the Troubles, drew up a Paper, which he presented to his Majesty, advising him either to resolve in Earnest to comply with the ensuing Parliament and Assembly, and give way to the Madness of the People, or to consider if he were able to reduce them in a Kingly way, which his Lordship did not see he cou'd do for want of money, and told him he saw no reason to expect it

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from the Parliament of England, nor cou'd he raise it without one. This Freedom declar'd how candidly he dealt with the King in all his Councils, and shew'd him worthy of his Majesties Confidence, who wou'd again have made him Lord Commissioner. But the Marquess represented that he was by no means a fit Person to serve his Majesty in that Station; that having been so before, there wou'd be many jealous of his Honour, and that their hatred of him might prejudice the Kings Interest. Then his Majesty pitch'd on the Earl of Traquair, and order'd him to come to Court. The King commanded the Marquess by a Warrant in Writing, under his own Hand, to try what he cou'd gain upon the Covenanting Lords, and discover the bottom of their Intentions, &c. The King allow'd him to use what means he pleas'd, and speake to them what he thought fit, not only authorizing, but requiring him to do it, and warranting him if he were ever question'd, or accus'd for it by any. 'Tis easie from this to infer, both how enrirely his Majesty confid'd in him, and how unjust they are who injure his Memory for any Expressions he might then have us'd. Montross was the only Person gain'd by fair Offers from the Covenant to the Kings Interest; yet he still continu'd amongst the discontented Lords, and dis-cover'd all their Councils. Traquair held a

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Parliament by virtue of his Majesties Commission, which was presently Prorogu'd, and a new War broke out, occasion'd by the Lord Commissioners Prevarications with the Covenanters; though he solemnly sign'd their Covenant, and the Council follow'd his example; The Kings refusing to allow the Meeting at *Glasgow* to be a lawful Assembly, the imprisoning the Lord *London*, one of the chief of the Covenanters, whom they sent to Court with their Petition for redress of Grievances, and performance of Articles, highly incens'd that Party; and the Bishop of *Canterbury*, with the rest of the hot Men in *England*, push'd his Majesty to a second Rupture. During these Commotions the Marques never appear'd in Business, unless at the Council-Board, but he kept correspondence with those Covenanting Lords, who were his Relations, in hopes to bring them over to the Royal Cause. In *February 1640*. his Majesty made the Marquess's only Brother Secretary of State, and Earl of *Lanercick*, and call'd a Parliament in *England*, which did not at all approve of the Scotch War, but began to speak kindly of the Covenant. This soon put an end to their Session, and the King was forc'd to borrow money of his Courtiers, the Marquess of *Hamilton* Paid down eight thousand & Pound in Gold, and at *York* six thousand three hundred Pound, and in four years time

time I advanced thirty thousand Pound for his Majesty. Sir Roger Manly, in his History of the Rebellion, denies all this, and says he pretended Poverty, and did not subscribe. The Parliament in Scotland sat (though the High Commissioner refus'd to acknowledge them) and sent up their Acts to the King, with which his Majesty was much offended, as striking at the Root of his Authority, and therefore he judg'd himself bound to repair the Affront with the Sword God had put in his Hands. At this time the Marquess got a Memorial from the Lord Lowdon in the Tower, full of submission, and was earnest with the King for Lowdon's enlargement. His Commitment was for a Letter directed to the French King by the Covenanters, to which the Lord Lowdon's name was, with others. This Letter shou'd have been sent before the first War, but it never went further than a resolution to do it in case of necessity. The Covenanters pretended the Articles of Peace pardon'd the past Crimes, and made great noise at Lowdon's Confinement. The Marquess negotiated with them in the Tower, to bring him into the King's Interest, and he sign'd a Paper to that purpose, upon which he was enlarg'd.

The Lords of the Covenant were busie in Scotland raising Forces, they got a good Army together, before the Kings was ready, which enter'd

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enter'd England under General *Lesley*; They presently took Berwick, and Newcastle. The Earl of Northumberland was General, and Strafford Lieutenant-General of the King's Forces, but they being both absent the Lord Conway, General of the Horse, Commanded.) *Lesley* forc'd the Passage of Newburn, and push'd his way as far as Durham. The King in this straight summon'd the Peers to meet him at York. By whose Council a Treaty was Commenc'd at Rippon. The Lord Marquess was the chief Adviser of this Pacification; but the Earl of Strafford wou'd be satisfy'd with nothing less than reducing the Rebels by the Sword. At this time Montross's Correspondence with the Court was discover'd, and his Person secur'd. The Treaty at Rippon went forward, and his Majesty comply'd with the Scots demands. 'Tis certain they wou'd not have ventur'd to pass the Tweed, had they not really met with encouragement from the Presbyterian Party in England. Where the Lords Essex, Bedford, Holland, and Say, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Pym, held a constant Correspondence with them.

After the Peace of Rippon, the Lord Hamilton, and others, advis'd his Majesty to call a Parliament, which met the 3d. of November 1640, and was fatal to the Earl of Strafford, to whose death the Marquess his Enemies pretend he persuad'd the King to consent,

consent, and yet his Lordship who was of the Council, witness'd for the Earl, that he did not hear him speak the Words charg'd on him by Sir *Henry Vane*. The Bishops of *Scotland* thought themselves undone by the Treaty, and complain'd of the Marquess as the cause of their ruin; tho he had maintain'd some of 'em out of his own Pocket: which their Letters extant in Dr. *Burnet's Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton* sufficiently prove. The *Scots* Parliament went on against Incendiaries, and the Lord *Hamilton's* name was struck out for his moderation. This displeas'd the Earl of *Traqair*, who had not such good Fortune, and many censur'd the Marquess, as not enough concern'd for those who were under the Parliament's displeasure. He now enter'd into a friendship with the Lord *Argyle*, in hopes to make him more favourable to his Majesty's Interest; and this was said malitiously to be a courting of the King's Enemies: yet his Majesty (when he was in *Scotland*) declar'd in Parliament that the Marquess had carry'd himself as a faithful Subject and Servant, in all his Employments, during these Troubles, as one that design'd the good and happiness of his Country, and an Act to the same purpose was made by the King and the Estates. However, the Accusation of those who hated him, were so effectual, that he insensibly lost ground with

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the King, and his Brother lay under the same Censures. The business of the Incident happening to increase the Marques's jealousies, he withdrew from Edinburgh; the incident was a pretended Plot, to take off *Hamilton* and *Argile*; and being found out to be a false alarm, the Marques return'd to Court, and the King's Favour. There was a design afterwards to impeach him in the Parliament of *England*, as Earl of *Cambridge*, which, by the Marques his good management, came to nothing. The difference between the King and his *English* Parliament increasing, his Majesty left 'em, and went Northward in *August 1642*. The Marques was kept by sickness at *London*, and cou'd not attend his Majesty, which his Enemies aggravated as deserting the Cause. They reported he had in the King's name offer'd the Militia to both Houses; the King said *He woud not part with it for an hour*, but his Majesty was convinc'd of the falsehood of these Accusations; when the Marques came to him at *Terk*. He continu'd all his endeavours to heal the Breaches, and bring matters to an accommodation, yet not to seem more backward in the King's Service, than those who breath'd out nothing but destruction to the Rebel Parliament; (for so they were us'd to call it) he offer'd to do his utmost, and subscrib'd for the Pay of sixty Horse in the Royal Army. He represented

to his Majesty his fear that Scotland might joyn with the English, and the King order'd him to reside in that Kindom to prevent it. He was ill receiv'd there, for concurring with his Majesty as a Peer of England. The Scots favour'd the two Houses, and the Marquess gave the King an account of their inclination to assist them. The new Assembly voted down Episcopacy. Several of the Bishops quitted their Mitres and took the Covenant, contenting themselves with the Cure of a Parish. The Marquess took all the pains imaginable on Argle and London, to persuade them not to forsake his Majesty in this extremity; and since the Scottish Troubles had involv'd him in all his difficulties, that 'twas just they shou'd study to extricate him out of it, but his persuasions were in vain. The Lords of the Covenant were for bringing Prelacy as low in England, as they had brought it in Scotland. The Marquess inform'd the King of their proceedings, and beg'd him to give the Scots fresh assurances and hopes, before they sent up Commissioners to agree with the two Houses. His Majesty wrote him an extraordinary Letter in answer, dated at Oxford the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, in which he says, No extrempity nor misfortune shall make him yield, for he will be either a glorious King, or a patient Martyr. The Lord Hamilton was accus'd by Pickering

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the Parliaments Agent at Edinburgh for hindering the Scots declaring for his Masters; and Pym advised to proceed against him as an Incendiary, if he did not desist his opposing their Agents Negotiation; yet neither promises nor threats cou'd shake him in the prosecution of his Duty. The Marquess being in Council when the King's and the Parliaments Declaration were to be consider'd, by his Temper and Arguements prevail'd to get his Majesties printed and published, and not the Parliaments. For which the King wrote him a Letter of thanks the 29th. of December 1642. Most of the Scotch Nation inclin'd to joyn with the Parliament of England, and Petitions to that purpose came from several Shires and Presbyteries. The Marquess, to oppose this, got a croſſ Petition drawn up, and sign'd by several Lords, to be offer'd to the Council, which was condemn'd by the Clergy, and not one of them cou'd be drawn in to signe it. Things were in a bad condition in Scotland, and the Earl of Montrose inviting the Queen to make War in that Kingdom, exasperated the Scotch Nation the more. The Marquess dissuaded her Majesty from such an Enterprise. Which making the King Author of the breach, wou'd bring an indelible Stain on his Honour, and create a perpetual difſidence in his Subjects, of all his Concessions and Assurances;

surances; besides, that there were no hopes to succeed by Force. This he represented to the Queen in a Visit he made her when she landed at *Burlington*. And desir'd that some other Person in whom their Majesties cou'd confide, might be employ'd with him, and divide their Trust in *Scotland*, that he might be deliver'd from the *odium* and danger of acting alone in such tender Points, and such difficult times. The King immediately sent all the *Scottish* Lords that were with him home, the Earls of *Moreton*, *Roxburgh*, *Kinnoul*, *Annandale*, *Lanerick* and *Carnwath*, as well to assist the Marquess, as to increase his Majesties Interest, and make Work for the Covenanters at home. On the 21. May 1643. the Council, and the Conservators of the Peace were to consult together of the present State of Affairs. These Conservators were a Committee of the States who sat in the intervals of Parliament. The Lords *Hamilton* and *Moreton*, fearing the effects of their Meeting oppos'd it, but were over-rul'd; and so these *Judicatories* met. To them twas propos'd to consider of their danger by the Queens raising an Army in *Yorkshire*, and twas mov'd that a Convention of Estates shou'd be presently call'd to put the Nation in a posture of Defence. The Marquess argu'd much against it, as a high incroachment on the Kings Prerogative, he was seconded by

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the Lord Moreton, and Sir Thomas Hope, the Kings Advocate. Their Arguments were ineffectual, and 'twas carry'd that the Lord Chancellour shou'd summon a Convention to meet the 22. of June, 1643. of which Resolution they gave the King notice in a Letter, sign'd by the Lords of the Council, and the Conservators, who were for the Parliaments sitting.

To reward his many good Services, his Majesty sent the Marquess a Patent to be a Duke, yet 'twas impossible for him to stem the Tide. The King's Affairs in Scotland were in a desperate condition, he inform'd Mr. Fernyn how near ruin his Majesty's Interest was there, and wrote the same to the Queen, whose acting in the North, and raising an Army in Yorkshire, gave such jealousy to the Scots, that they call'd this Convention, and levy'd Forces in their own defence, which afterwards were sent into England, to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Cause. The Scots Parliament met the 22d. of June, in a very ill humour, though the Duke of Hamilton, and his Brother the Earl of Lanerick, had been tampering with the Lord Lowdon, and other leading Lords of the Kirk Party to oppose a present agreement with England. The King by his Letter of the 10th. of June, warranted the Session of the Scots Convention, so the Duke and his Friends appear'd,

and Answered to their Names, and the Estates voted themselves a free Parliament, though summon'd without the King's consent. The Duke voted it no Parliament but as regulated by the King's Letter; so did eighteen Lords, and but one Knight, all the rest voting it free: then the Duke rose up and declar'd he cou'd not own it for such, nor acknowledge any of their Acts and Orders, further than as they kept within the bounds of his Majesty's Letter. Having made this Declaration he left them. After this some Lords came to the Duke, and ask'd his Advice, if they shou'd Sit or not, he knowing it to be an insinuating Question, laid his Practice shew'd his Judgment, which he wish'd the whole Convention had follow'd, but for particular Advices he left it to themselves. The Kirk Party, to ruin him with the King, whisper'd it about that they had Intelligence with him; the Duke sent many Messages by Mr. Murray of the Bed-Chamber, to such of the King's Friends in England, as he saw gave into those Insinuations, and were displeas'd with his Methods to justify his Conduct; yee all his Excuses and Protestations of Innocence prevail'd nothing with them. Their jealousies of him were insuperable, and they continually rail'd at him & the King. Though his only fault was his disposition to Peace, and aversion to those Councils, which some other desperate

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gauen Lords advanc'd contrary to his Majesty's true Interest and safety of his Person and Government. A General Assembly sitting at the same time with the Scottish Convention, they both agreed to a Treaty and Alliance with the Parliament of England. Forces were rais'd by the Authority of the Estates, and the Assembly made it one of the Conditions of their sending the Army to the assistance of their Brethren in England, that the three Nations shou'd take the Solemn League and Covenant, which they now publish'd with Alterations and Additions, and this the Parliament of England accepted of and took. Mr. Murray returning to Scotland brought the Duke a Letter from the King, and he still stood so firm in his favour, that his Majesty was pleas'd to assure him in it, *His Confidence of him was not lessen'd;* which the Queen confirm'd in another by the same Bearer, and again the 29. of September the King says no ill Offices have had the power to lessen his Confidence in him, or his Estimation of him. The King's Friends seeing their Consultations were to no effect, resolv'd to try what Action wou'd do, and to prevent the Armies quitting Scotland, by a Diversion at home. They were to summon their Friends and Attendance together, and to pretend their meeting was only to wait on the Countess of Roxburgh's Funeral. Montrose, and those Lords whose Fortunes were broken

were for Violent Courses, those whose Estates were intire, and had the most Followers, thought it fitter to delay an open breach as long as possible. This diversity of Opinions rais'd jealousie, and the Secret breaking out afterwards, his Enemies fasten'd it on the Duke. Twice was the Duke and the Lords of his Party summon'd to take the Covenant at the Council Board, and still they excus'd themselves. b He did his utmost to engage his Vassals, and the Dependents on his Family, to appear for the King's Service, he offer'd if they wou'd vigorously concur in it, to dispense with great Advantages he had over their Fortunes; but those Counties where his Interest lay, were so prevail'd upon by the Ministers, that no endeavours cou'd divert them from the Course the rest of the Country were taking, so little cou'd he prevail with them that all the Authority and Art, he and his Brother us'd, cou'd not get such Deputies chosen for the Convention, as he approv'd, though he stir'd in it as much as was possible. The Duke took with him two hundred Horse, half of 'em Gentlemen, and the rest his Servants, to attend the Lady *Roxburgh's* Funeral; but when they came, there were not above one thousand Horse in the whole, and these so divided by jealousies, or about the Command, that they parted without coming to any Resolution. When the day prefix'd for their taking

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taking w<sup>th</sup> the Covenant was expir'd, they were declar'd Enemies to God, the King and their Country, and 'twas resolv'd to seize the Duke and his Brother Lanerick, of which he was advis'd by the Earl of Lindsey. Their Goods were appointed to be sold, their Rents gathered up, and their Persons to be apprehended, by an Order of the 17th. of November, and a Commission was giv'n to Soldiers to take 'em. The Lord Southesk, and many more of the Sticklers for the Royal Cause comply'd with the Kirk Party; but the Duke and his Brother seeing all was past recovery in Scotland, prevented these severe Orders, and went to Court. The Miscarriages in Scotland were laid to the Dukes unfaithfulness in his management. Much scandal was thrown on him, and he was accus'd for speaking Disrespectfully of the King, and to make sure work, that he pretended to the Crown of Scotland. This his Enemies knew was to touch his Majesty in a tender part; for that Prince who was so jealous of the Perogative, that he wou'd not part with the Militia, not for an hour, cou'd not be well pleas'd to hear one of his Vassals put in a Claim to his Crown, and to ravish it from him for ever. The Duke was not ignorant of what was design'd by his Enemies to destroy him; yet trusting to his Innocence, he resolv'd to put all to hazard, so on the 16th. of December, he came to Oxford.

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An Order was left at the Gates to stop him till the Gouvernour had notice of his approach; but the Captain of the Guard thinking he was in the Coach that follow'd and not knowing the Duke who was on Horseback, let him pass without stopping him. He was presently follow'd with a Command from the King to him, and his Brother, to confine themselves to their Chambers during his Majesty's pleasure. The Duke answer'd, that as he had ever given a ready obedience to his Majesty's Commands, so in this he woud punctually obey his Order.

At night Secretary Nicholas came to him, and told him his Majesty had recey'd an Accusation of a high Nature against him, and that he cou'd not be answerable to himself if he had not taken this Course. However, he might expect from him all Favour that in Justice he cou'd grant him, and that himself woud be graciously pleas'd to hear as much of his Cause as he cou'd, and all hast shou'd be us'd in it. The Duke answer'd he desir'd no Favour, but trusted to the King's Justice, and his own Integrity, only he intreated he might have a speedy Tryal. Then a Guard was set on his Lodgings, with Orders that none might speak with him, except in presence of one of the Secretaries. He desir'd that he might have a Copy of his Charge, which was granted.

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granted. <sup>so</sup> 'twas rather an Historical Information than a Legal Accusation, consisting of eight Articles, too large to be inserted here. His Corresponding with the King's Enemies and his betraying the Royal Cause, while he was intrusted with it, and his pretending to the Scottish Crown, were the chief Articles. My Lord answer'd particularly to each, and prov'd 'em to be both false and incredible. The Earl of Montrose, as appears by the Duke's answer to the seventh Article, was the principal contriver of his Accusation. We shall mention this part of the Answer, for from thence we may see who was the Author of my Lord's Troubles. The whole Charge, and the Dukes Defence, are at large in Dr. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, from whence we have taken what follows.

The Defendant (says his Grace) knows well that some of his Accusers, made some offers to the Queen about eight months after the King sent him to Scotland; but as these offers were design'd to make his Majesty, the first breaker, which wou'd have been infinitely to the prejudice of his Service, and have given incurable jealousies to the Subjects of all his Majesty's Confessions, so no rational methods were propos'd for prosecuting them. And it seem'd they flow'd from the desperate State these Lords were in, who had engag'd as deep with the Covenanters as any had done, but afterwards not meeting that

that Return, and those Rewards, which their Ambition and Vanity had design'd, and their Fortunes being ruin'd, they pretended much Zeal for the King's Service; but offer'd no rational appearances of being able to prosecute what they undertook,

The Marquess of Montrose is plainly meant to be the Person, who not only accus'd the Duke of Hamilton of Treason; but whose Councells had been so rash and violent, that his Majesties Interest in Scotland very much suffer'd by the Influence they had over his Affairs their.

The Duke desir'd that his Accusers might be examin'd as soon as possible; he was answer'd it cou'd not be done while the Commotions lasted. The Lord Hamilton alledg'd 'twas a hard case to keep him under such high Imputations, for so long and undeterminate a time. However, he was first sent Prisoner to Exeter, and then to Pendennis Castle. The Earl of Lanerick impatient of Confinement, and hearing he was to be remov'd to Ludlow Castle, made his escape. The Duke, his Brother, was for this us'd with more strictness, his Servants were put from him, his Money taken away, he was deny'd all freedom; The use of Pen and Paper was refus'd him, except to write Petitions to the King, and the Room he was shut up in, was both inconvenient and obscure. His imprisonment brought on him the Distemper of

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the Stone, and much impair'd his Health. His Carriage was so engaging that the Governor of one of the places of his Confinement, not only gave him more Liberty than he cou'd justifie, but also offer'd to let him make his escape, which the Duke refus'd, because he wou'd not be accessary to the suffering of so generous a Person. He was put upon writing to his Friends in Scotland to assist Montrose, but he said it cou'd not be expected that they wou'd hearken to him till his Innocence was clear'd by a fair Tryal, for which he often petition'd in vain. The Court had some notice of the Governor of Pendennis Castles intimacy with the Duke, and he was order'd to be remov'd to the Castle of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall for the greater security. While he was under Confinement here, the Prince of Wales happen'd to visit the Governor of the Castle, taking it in his way to Scilly, and there being very little convenience for Lodging, the Duke was turn'd out of his, and shut up in one of the Soldiers Cabins, to make room for his Highness, who would not admit Duke Hamilton to his Presence, though the Duke begg'd that it might be granted him to see the Prince. Here the Lord Chancellor had a long Conference with the Duke, on the Marquess of Montrose's Affairs, and endeavour'd to persaede him to write to his Friends in Scotland, in the Marquess's behalf, but

but the Duke answer'd him as he had done others when he was now'd in that manner. He continu'd in Prison till the Castle of St. Michael's Mount was surrendered to the Parliaments Forces, by which means he had his freedom in April 1646, two hours had he

This ill usage made him once more resolve on a retreat from the World, and the leisure he had by almost three years Imprisonment afford'd to reflect upon the Vanity and Vexation of a Court Life, which made him sincerely repent he had ever lost so much time there. Yet when the King's Troubles were coming fast upon him; when he was drivn by the Parliaments army to the Scots Army, that had help'd to bring him into this miserable Condition. When the Scots were for making use of the Power they had over him, and obliging him to take the Covenant, to which his Majesty was alwaysaverse, and improving his Distress to extort hard Conditions from him. Then the Duke of Hamilton was tempted to leave his Retirement, and serve his Master, when others who pretended to do more did abandon'd him. In July he came to New Castle, and kiss'd the King's Hand. His Majesty and he blush'd when they saw Jones another first, and as the Duke was retiring back with a little Confusion into the Crowd that was in the Room, the King ask'd him, If he was afraid to come near him; upon which he came

came up unto the King; and they entered into a long Conversation. His Majesty told him, He still thought him innocent as to the Bulk of his Charges; but that his Confinement was extort'd from him, which against his Heart, for he had stood out against all the importunitie's of his Enemies, till he very morning he came to Oxford. The Duke reply'd in a manner, that shew'd, as the King said, A well couch'd Resentment: Upon which his Majesty told him, He did not expect he wou'd now leave him; where he needed his assistance most. This overcame the Duke's Resolutions for that time; and he desir'd his Majesty wou'd lay his Commands on him. The first of them gave an occasion to a rare exercise of his Virtue. The King was now in great perplexity about Montrose's Affairs; To leave him to the fury of his Enemies after such had done so much for his Majesty's Service, was contrary both to his Honour and his Conscience. On the other Hand he cou'd not preserve him, for having by the desires of the Estates recall'd his Commission, what Montrose shou'd do more wou'd be Treason. And there was no way to get him out of the Hands of those whom he first betray'd; and then deserted. They wou'd hear of nothing, unless he render'd himself at Discretion. The King therefore propos'd it to the Duke to do what in him lay to extricate him out of this strait. Considering there was a known Enmity between

the Duke and *Montrose*. An ordinary Virtue wou'd have judg'd it sufficient not to have reveng'd Injuries; but it must be confess to be a singular Instance of Christianity, to repay Injuries with so great Generosity, while the smart and sense of 'em were yet so fresh. However, by his Interest in the Committee of Estates, he got 'em to consent to a Capitulation for him to lay down his Arms and live peaceably. The Duke afterwards prest his Majesty, with great earnestness, to grant the *Scots* Propositions for Peace, to abolish Episcopacy, and take the Covenant, as the only means for him to settle Affairs in *Scotland*, and procure assistance thence to deal with the Parliament of *England*. The King said his Conscience was dearer than his Crown, and that he shou'd then have no more Power than a Doge of Venice. The Duke seeing the King was not brought so low yet, as to be impos'd on by the *Scots* to act contrary to his Judgment and Honor, and being willing to serve him, if possible, endeavour'd to persuade the Committee of Estates to be satisfy'd with his Majesty's Concessions, he desir'd them to consider, if they shou'd now desert him, 'twould make them Odious thro' the whole World, and the payment of their Arrears by the *English* Parliament wou'd pass under a far worse Character. He mov'd the Army shou'd not be brought out of *England* till Peace was establish'd; this Argument

ment prevail'd on many, but some of the leading Kirk-Men were not satisfy'd, neither did they like the Duke for being instrumental in the Agreement made with *Montrose*. In *August 1646.* the Lord *Hamilton*, and the Earls of *Crawford* and *Cassils* were sent to pray his Majesty to grant the Propositions, and represent to him all the inconveniencies that wou'd follow on a delay, much more upon a denial. The Duke was not willing to undertake the Employment, doubting the Success, and that his engaging in such a Message wou'd be ill constru'd. However, there was no avoiding it, for had he declin'd it, he wou'd have been suspected by the States to be disaffected to Peace. The King was as resolute against the Propositions as ever, and my Lord knowing twas impossible to make the Committee abate a tittle of their Demands, resolv'd again to meddle no more with publick Affairs, and to go into a voluntary Exile for which he begg'd his Majesty's permission; the King resisted it with much Reason and Affection, yet at length gave way to the Duke's importunity. With a very sad Heart he took leave of his Majesty, whom he never saw afterward (except a transient view at *Windsor*); the King in few days was sorry that he permitted him to travel, and retracted it in a kind Letter of the 26th. of September from *New-Castle*, which conquer'd his Resistance, and re-

ceiving another from the Queen, he chang'd his purpose, tho' he cou'd not so easily part with his melancholy thoughts. He once more advis'd the King to grant, before it was too late, the *Demands of his Kingdoms*, to prevent the great Evils that threaten'd his Person. His Majesty was extreamly satisfy'd with the Duke's consenting to stay still in *Scotland*, and My Lord solicited the Committee of Estates to require a personal Treaty (by their Commissioners at *London*) between the King and the two Houses of Parliament. The preservation of the King's Person he said was agreed on by the Covenant, and if the *Scots Army* abandon'd him, he wou'd be in danger. The *Scots Parliament* met in the beginning of *November*, and Complaints were made, that the Committee of Estates had agreed with that *Grand Malignant Montrose*. They complain'd also of his Majesty's adhering to Prelacy, and favouring those who were Enemies to Religion. The Parliament approv'd the Agreement with *Montrose* and voted to disband the Army, which they cou'd not keep up without a Breach with *England*, and that they were not at present inclin'd to. The Duke argu'd, that till Peace was settled, *Scotland* wou'd not be secure, yet all he cou'd say was to no purpose; their *English Brethren* voted four hundred thousand Pounds (their Arrears) to be paid the *Scots*, and the King's Person to be demanded

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demanded of them, which they cou'd not refuse without a Rupture, so they thought best to accept of the Money and deliver up the King. The Duke was all Melancholy and Despair, tho' his Majesty, it seems, had so little Opinion of the *Scots* Fidelity, or of their Ability to protect him, that when he heard the News, he was as chearful as ever, and being at *Cheſſ*, continu'd the Game with a great deal of Temper. My Lord *Hamilton* gave a hearty Vote in Parliament against parting with the King, though Malice and Scandal did not stick to say he had not acted in that Affair with the Candour and Zeal he express'd. He was always working how to be serviceable to his Majesty in his last distress, in order to this, much Pains were taken by him and his Brother, to infuse into the *Scots* a jealousy of the *Independents* and Sectaries, as Persons who were to be fear'd equally with Malignants and Episcoparians. Most of the next Year 1647. was spent in possessing them with these Apprehensions, and the Lord *Lauderdale* joyn'd with the two Brothers in contriving and prosecuting that Design. In April, *Lauderdale* was sent to the Parliament of *England* to insist on the Motion for a Settlement with the King, and to procure a permission for the Duke to attend his Majesty in his Bed-Chamber. *Lauderdale* was at his first arrival at *London* deny'd Liberty to wait on the

King, and Affairs were in such a Condition, 'twas not thought proper to mention the Lord Hamilton's attendance on his Majesty. My Lord had been acting in *Scotland* with good Succeſs, fomenting the Diviſions be-tween the *Presbyterian* Party, and the Inter-est of the *Independents*; he gave the King an account of his Proceeding, to his Majeſty's great Satisfaction; The Lords *Lo-  
ndon*, *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*, the three Com-miſſioners appointed by the *Scots* to me-diate a Settlement between the King and Parlia-ment, offer'd to rescue his Majesty as he was Hunting at *Norsuch*, having fifty Horse with them, and the Guards not half that Number; his Majesty wou'd not yield to this Attempt, having given the Army his Royal Word, not to leave them without gi-ving them notice. The *Scots* Commissioners at *London* saw early what the Army drove at, and inform'd the King that they intend-ed Mischief to his Person; but the King was ſo cajol'd by the chief Officers, and had ſo much Liberty given him by the Army, more than when he was at the Parlia-ment's disposal, that his Majesty did not believe their Informations ſo entirely, as to govern him-self by them, and when he found his Error 'twas too late. The Duke in *Scotland* uſed all his Art and Diligence to rouze up that Nation to free the King from restraint, and that they wou'd not be tame Spectators o-

his Majesty's Murder. The Commissioners having secur'd a good Correspondence in *England*, return'd to *Edinburgh* to assist the Lord *Hamilton* with their Councils and Interest; but *Lowdon*, the Lord Chancellor, when their Projects shou'd have been put in execution, fell off, and was made to do Penance in the High-Church of *Edinburgh* for his *sinful compliance with these unlawful Courses*; the engaging to serve the King before he had satisfy'd the Kirk Party as to abolishing Episcopacy and taking the Covenant. This desertion of the Lord *Lowdons* was a great Stroke to the Royal-Cause, that then seem'd to revive and flourish; indeed, we cannot but observe that there was more Zeal than Prudence, more Loyalty than Policy in the Duke's raising a second War: What hopes with seventeen thousand new rais'd Men to master the Victorious Army of *England*, consisting of thirty thousand experienc'd Troops? and the King's Party was then so low, there was no probability that they cou'd assist him to any purpose; the Parliament had not yet disgusted a good Part of the Nation by the King's Tryal; nor were the *Presbyterians* brought over to the Royal-Cause, as they were afterwards, which very much contributed to King *Charles* the Second's being so easily restor'd. The Invasion of the *Scots* serv'd only to provoke the Army by kindling a new

War that had no prospect of Success, and if the King, who was Wise in what he thought his Interest, consented to the Duke's Proceedings, 'twas in his Despair, and not his Judgment; for they hasten'd him to his Fate, and all that engag'd in it to destruction. The Duke of *Hamilton* who was moderate in all his other Counsels, certainly acted in this meerly to show what little Grounds his Enemies had to accuse him of Disloyalty.

In the beginning of *March* 1648. the Parliament sat at *Edinburgh*, and Commissioners came from that at *London* to justify their Proceedings, and keep up their Friendship with their *Scottish* Brethren. Some of the Noblemen and Clergy were for preserving the Peace, but the Duke had been so successful in his Negotiations with the Members, that the Majority voted an Engagement for the King. This Vote past the 25th. of *April*, and the Kingdom was to be put in a Posture of Defence, yet the slowness of the *Scottish* Motions gave Jealousie every where, that they were not hearty in them, and the Prince of *Wales* wou'd not venture himself amongst them. There were about him enough that study'd to alienate his Highness from that Resolution, on account of the old Calumnies against the Duke of *Hamilton*, yet to oblige him, he refus'd to accept of a Book dedicated to him, where-

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in there were some Passages to the Duke's Dishonour. The *Scots Army* consisted of twelve thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, Duke *Hamilton* General; the Earl of *Calender* Lieutenant-General, the *Scots* sent for their Army out of *Ireland* under Sir *George Monroe*, of whom three thousand five hundred were to land in *Lancashire*. In *Scotland* the Lord *Argyle* and the Kirk-men oppos'd this Undertaking, and several Tumults there were at the raising the Forces; When they were rais'd, the great Debate was, whether they shou'd first make all sure at home, or leave things in Disorder, and make haste into *England*; the Lord *Lanerick* was for settling things in *Scotland*, and not leave an Enemy behind them; the Lord *Lauderdale* was for a present dispatch, *Langdale* having written, that General *Lambert* was advancing Northward, that he cou'd not stand before him, if he was not speedily reliev'd, and that *Carlisle* wou'd be in great hazard; these Considerations were pressing, and cou'd admit of no delays; tho' the Duke's Judg-  
ment went along with his Brother the Lord *Lanerick*'s Advice, knowing well it was easie for him to have forc'd all *Scotland* into a compliance, yet he was content to be over-  
rul'd, believing if they were prosperous in *England*, it wou'd not be difficult to master any resistance at home; So it was resolv'd in a Council of War to march, and a Ren-

dezvous was appointed at *Annan* near the Borders of *England* on the 4th. of July 1648. A great Insurrection against this Enterprize was at *Mauchlin*, which Sir *James Turner*, *Middleton* and *Hurrey*, were commanded to disperse before they got to a head; they routed the disaffected, and after this, the Duke sent Colonel *Turner* with six Regiments of Foot to lie at *Dumfrice*, and posted Colonel *Lockhart* with some Regiments of Horse at *Annan*, to incourage the Garrison of *Carlisle*, seiz'd by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* for the King, and hinder *Lambert's* drawing nearer the Place, which happen'd accordingly; for on *Lockhart's* coming to *Annan*, *Lambert* drew off, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* got air awhile. At the Day appointed, the General came from *Edinburgh* to *Annan* with several Regiments of Horse and Foot. *Turner* also came to him from *Dumfrice* with the Regiments that lay there. There was no likelihood of their prospering from the beginning. The General and Lieutenant-General never understood one another very well, the Foot were raw and undisciplin'd, the Horse the same, tho' the best mounted that ever *Scotland* set out; they had no Artillery, not so much as one Field-piece, very little Ammunition, and few Draught-Horses, but they were now engag'd and must go forward. On the Armies approach towards *Carlisle*, *Lambert* retir'd farther

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farther back, the General enter'd that Town in a splendid manner, his Liveries and Equi-page were New and Rich; he was receiv'd by the Magistrates with Ceremony, and by the People with ringing of Bells; but the Parliament on the News of his entring *Eng-land*, declar'd his Army Enemies, and their Adherents Traitors. The General sent a Letter to *Lambert*, informing him that he was come only to assist the desires of the *Scots* Nation, and the well-affected People of *En-gland* for a personal Treaty; *Lambert* an-swer'd, *That he shou'd obey the Parliament's Declaration, and treat them as Enemies.* *Lang-dale* and *Musgrave* brought three thousand *English* to the *Scots* Army. The Duke hear-ing the Enemy were about *Penrith*, advanc'd to engage them, but on his approach, *Lambert* quitted his Posts. The next Day the Lord *Levingston* commanding a Party of Horse, discover'd the Enemies Main-Guard within a Mile of *Appleby-Castle* in *Westmoreland*, con-sisting of about three hundred Horse, of which the General having notice, he order'd the Army to advance, and *Middleton* com-manded the Captain of the Generals Troop to charge, who beat *Lambert's* Horse into *Appleby* Town. The Enemy left it the next morning, and cut down the Bridge, which made it impossible to follow. *Langdale* be-sieg'd *Appleby-Castle*, in which the Enemy had still a Garrison, and Colonel *Turner* co-ver'd

ver'd the Siege, lest *Lambert* shou'd have fac'd about; thus say the *Scots*, tho' there was little fear of his facing twenty thousand Men, who had scarce seven thousand with him: Thence the General march'd to *Kendal* and *Hornby*, and here 'twas hotly debated, whether to enter *Yorkshire* or *Lancashire*; the Major Generals *Bayley* and *Turner* were for the former, but *Calender* and *Langdale* for the latter, alledging 'twould ease their Friends, *Yorkshire* being well affected. The *Irish* Forces under Sir *George Monroe*, were driven from the *English* to the *Scottish* Shoar, and did not get up with the Duke, tho' Sir *George* met him at *Kendal*, and had a Conference with him, when he told him, he was not willing to take Orders from *Celender* or *Bayley*, and this Difference hinder'd those Troops from coming up in time. The March into *Lancashire* being concluded on, *Calender* led the Van, and went on with *Middleton*, and the Cavalry to *Wigan*, some Regiments of Horse being reserv'd for a Rear-Guard to the Infantry, and the General with the Foot march'd forward to *Preston*. On the 18th. of *August*, *Cromwel* with a fortunate and disciplin'd Army joyn'd *Lambert*, who had till now only attended the *Scots* Motions; when *Calender* understood *Cromwell* was got up with *Lambert*, he retir'd with his Cavalry nearer to the Foot, and that Night intended to go to the General; he drew up some Regiments

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giments of Horse on a Moor near *Wigan*, and commanded them to stay there till farther Orders, which he sent them late at Night to return to their Quarters. Then *Calender* left *Middleton* with the Horse, and came to the Duke, which he ought not to have done without the Cavalry, when so powerful an Enemy was so near, neither did he give him any notice of *Cromwell's* arrival. The Duke having certain Intelligence that *Langdale* was engag'd, commanded *Turner* to send out Parties to his Relief. *Cromwell* drove *Langdale* from Hedge to Hedge, and the latter desir'd Succour to come immediately from the *Scots*; the General order'd *Calender* to march, who undertook it with a good Body of Horse, but did nothing more than dispute with Sir *James Hamilton* for commanding a Party, which he said did not belong to him; *Cromwell*, by this time, routed *Langdale*, who retir'd disorderly, and fell in betwixt the Foot and the Moor, where the Duke was expecting *Calender*, but now seeing a necessity of joyning himself to his Foot, he got into *Preston* Town with his Guard of Horse, *Langdale* and other Officers with him, intending to pass the River below it, but the Enemy pursu'd them fiercely into the Town; *Turner* endeavour'd to rally some of the Musketeers who fled, and line the Hedges with them to keep off the Horse; the Duke seeing they did small Service,

vice, charg'd himself those that pursu'd him; he was follow'd by the Officers of his own Guard, and repuls'd two Troops of the Enemies Horse, and then turn'd to get the Ford; as soon as the *Scots* turn'd, *Cromwell's* Men fac'd about and renew'd the attack, the General a second time charg'd them and put them to flight, and again a third time, which drove the Enemy so far back, they did not soon overtake the *Scots* with their fresh Troops; then the Duke swam over the River, and got safely to the Place where the Infantry lay, whom *Bayley* had drawn up very advantageously on the top of a rising Ground; *Cromwell* routed the Battalions on the Moor, and became Master of the Bridge, thus ended this day's Skirmish: The next, *Calender* and almost all the Officers were for a Retreat, only *Bayley* and *Turner* were for staying till *Middleton* came up with the Horse, to whom several Messages had been sent for that purpose. The majority in the Council of War being for a March, 'twas resolv'd on, and the Army march'd all Night, designing for *Warrington*-Bridge, which they reach'd and maintain'd it bravely for some Hours; but *Cromwell* having faln on *Middleton's* Horse, and tho' he made a gallant Defence, put them to flight, the Foot commanded by General *Bayley* capitulated, and laid down their Arms on Quarter. The General finding all was lost, made off with 3000 Horse towards

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towards *Nantwich*, whom *Cromwell* order'd *Lambert* to follow with some Regiments of Cavalry, and himself with the rest march'd Northward to reduce the Garrisons that had revolted in *Yorkshire*, and seek out *Monroe*. The Duke's Troops knowing the Country was every where rising against them, and that the Lord *Grey* and *Lambert*'s Forces were in pursuit of them, requir'd the General in a Mutiny to stop at *Utoxeter*, and to surrender. His Grace represented to them, 'twas better to capitulate with Sword in Hand in the open Field, than be coop'd up in a Town ; but both he and *Calender* were forc'd by their Importunities to stay there. Here *Langdale* left him, and a Trumpet from *Stafford* commanded him to yield himself, and ev'n the Militia-Officers insulted him with such impertinent Messages. The Soldiers hearing several of their Officers intended to make their escape, mutiny'd again, resolv'g they should all have the same Fortune. The Generals appeas'd them for the present with good Words, but *Calender* march'd off safe to *London*, and thence to *Holland*.

On the 25th. of *August* the Duke, who was now abandon'd on all sides, sent Sir *James Turner*, Colonel *Lockhart*, and Colonel *Fowls* to capitulate with the Governour of *Stafford*, but the Treaty was interrupted by a Message from *Lambert*, who was draw-

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ing near *Utoxeter*; he inform'd the *Scots* Colonels, that they must treat with him, and commission'd Colonel *Lilburn*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hains* and Major *Manwaring*, to agree upon Articles. The *English* demanded *Bermwick* and *Carlisle*, which the Duke said, he neither could nor would engage to surrender; at last *Lambert's* Officers consented to grant the *Scots* Quarter for Life, and some small Advantages, but their Bag, Arms and Baggage, their Horses and Provisions were to be deliver'd up. The *English* Officers and the *Scots* sign'd the Treaty which the Duke of *Hamilton* and General *Lambert* were to ratifie. In the mean time the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby* came to *Utoxeter*, to whom the Duke sent Colonel *Ker* to acquaint him that he was treating with *Lambert*, who desir'd the *Scots* to expedite the Articles, that he might go to *Utoxeter* and save the Duke from the Lord *Grey's* Men, who fell upon the *Scots*, nor regarding the Treaty nor Cessation of Arms, and took his Grace Prisoner. *Lambert* disclaim'd the Lord *Grey's* taking him, as done in time of Treaty and Cessation of Arms, against the Law of War and of Nations.

The Duke was carry'd to *Derby*, from thence to *Loughborough*, thence to *Leicester*, and from *Leicester* to *Ashby de la Zouch*, where he continued Prisoner till the beginning of *December*, when he was carried to

*Windsor*,

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Windsor, and kept under a strict Guard in a close restraint ; he was never permitted to go out of the Castle, and but seldom to walk in the Court ; as he was taking a turn there, the second Night after he came to Windsor, presently a Sergeant came and commanded him to his Chamber, on which Accident his Grace cou'd not forbear reflecting on the Vicissitudes of human Greatness, telling his Fellow-Prisoner, the Lord Bur-gary, that the Sergeant's Rudeness was a notable Instance of the Vanity of worldly Glory, that himself, who a few Weeks before commanded so many Thousand Men, should be now commanded by a Fellow little better than a private Soldier. Soon after his Imprisonment the Parliament sent two of their Members and *Hugh Peters* to examin him, and try if they could discovet who had confederated and corresponded with him in his late Engagement. These Messengers spar'd neither Promises nor Threats, but both were ineffectual, for he would confess nothing. He was lodg'd in the House of one of the Poor Knights, and since his Examination, his Confinement was closer. Yet when the King was brought thro' Windsor on the 21st. of December, he so far prevail'd with his Keepers, as to permit him to see his Majesty ; as he past by, the Duke kneel'd down, kiss'd his Hand, and had only time to say, *My dear Master* ; the King embrac'd

embrac'd him very kindly, and reply'd, I have indeed been so to you. They were not suffer'd to have any more Discourse, the Guards immediately parting them by the Officer's Commands. The Parliament had condemn'd the Lord *Hamilton* to perpetual Imprisonment, by setting 100000*l.* Sterling for his Ransom, which Sum cou'd not be rais'd by him at a time when he had contracted so many Debts on the King's account. *Cromwell* came feveral times to him on the same errand, as *Hugh Peters*, and the two Members were sent on before, promising not only Life and Rewards, but Secrecy, if he would discover his Accomplices. The Duke rejected the Proposition with Horror and Disdain, and apprehending they might get his Brother into their Hands, he wrote him the following Note with the Juice of Lemmon.

*I, under the Pow'r of the Sword, and merciless Men, no Favour to be expected, oft examin'd, but nothing discover'd, being ignorant. Perhaps you will abide the same Tryal, beware, if you do.*

He was mightily griev'd at the News of the King's Death, and saw well his own Danger, therefore he design'd an escape from *Windsor*, which was contriv'd by his faithful Servant Mr. *Cole*, afterwards one of

King

King Charles the Second's *Quirries*. The Duke having gain'd his Keeper, order'd Mr. Cole to send a trusty Servant with two Horses to *Windsor*, which he did, advising his Grace not to come to *London* till seven a Clock in the Morning, and appointing a Place where he would meet him, and bring him to some secure House in the City. The Duke about the time the Gates were to be shut, made his escape freely out of the Castle, and found his Servant with the Horses as he directed. But he fatally went from the Resolution he had laid down with Mr. Cole, and came in the Night to *Southwark*, thinking to have got to one Mr *Owens*'s House who was acquainted with the Busines, forgetting the Guards were all Night about the City, and that there was no coming to it, except in the day time; and all things concurring to hasten him to his Grave, there happen'd to be a Party of Horse and Foot in *Southwark*, searching for Sir *Lewis Dives*, and another Gentleman who had escap'd the Night before. Some of the Soldiers meeting the Duke in the Street, about four in the Morning, where he had long knockt at a Door, took him and examin'd him; he told them a very formal Story of himself and his Busines, which at first satisfy'd them, but they observ'd that as he took a Pipe of Tobacco by them, he burnt several great Papers to light it, and search-

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ing him, they found such in his Pockets as discover'd him. When Mr. Cole heard his Master was taken, tho' 'twas known he had a hand in his Escape, he ventur'd his Life, rather than leave him in his Extremity; as soon as the Duke saw him, he lifted up his Hands and cry'd, *It was God's Will it should be thus.* Cole was the same Day examin'd by Sir Hardress Waller, who not satisfy'd with his short Confession, committed him close Prisoner. My Lord Hamilton was sent to St. James's, and shut up with the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capell, and Sir John Owen. Every one now perceiv'd his Grace was in danger, and laid by for the same Treatment as those Gentlement were to meet with, who were famous *Delinquents* and most obnoxious to the *Rumps* resentment.

On the 6th. of February, 1648. the Duke was brought to his Trial before the High-Court of Justice, Mr. Steel and Mr. Cook were Counsel for the People of *England*, the Stile of that pretended Parliament, and exhibited a Charge against him. *For that he the Earl of Cambridge, traiterously invaded this Nation in a hostile manner, and levy'd War to assist the King against the Kingdom and People of England, &c.* The Duke pleaded, he did it by Authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*, that he was an *alien*, being born before his Father's Naturalization, and that

Lambert

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Lambert by his Articles had secur'd his Life; he desir'd time to prepare Papers, Witnesses, &c which the Court refus'd. At the second appearance he pray'd for Counsel, but those he intended to employ were afraid to plead for him. Then Mr. Chute, Mr. Hales, and Mr. Parsons were assign'd him, and my Lord was forc'd to complain to the Court before he could get them plead. Hugh Peters witness'd for him, as to his Capitulation with Lambert. The Lord Grey and Lilburn affirm'd, that he was taken before the Treaty was sign'd. Peters rose up and express'd great dislike of Lilburn's Evidence, saying, Much Tenderness ought to be us'd where the Life of so eminent a Person was concern'd; and when Colonel Wayte depos'd that he surrender'd himself the Lord Grey's Prisoner, and desir'd Wayte to protect him from the Multitude, Hugh Peters during his Deposition, cry'd, He lies, he lies. Colonel Whichcot, Governour of Windsor-Castle, was examin'd concerning the Duke's escape from thence; the Governour attested, he promis'd to be a true Prisoner. My Lord was so angry at his Evidence, that he not only alledg'd it to be false, but said, If he was in a Condition, he would have Satisfaction of him for abusing him. The Parliament's Council urg'd, he always sat as a Peer of England, and as such had taken the Covenant and negative Oath, and then they argu'd on the

several Parts of the Charge. The Duke's Counsel defended their Client learnedly and reasonably, but all was over-rul'd, and the 6th. of March he was brought to the Bar, the Judges sat in Scarlet, and rejecting his Grace's Plea in all its Branches, found him guilty of the Inditement. The Duke pleaded for himself at several appearances largely and eloquently, as to his Duty to the Parliament of *Scotland*, his being an alien, and under Articles of Life by Capitulation *Steel and Cook* answer'd, That the Act of his Father's Naturalization, making him a Denizen and Earl of *Cambridge*, subjected him to the Laws of *England*, which they pretended he had broken by his Invasion; and the Lord *Grey, Lillburn* and *Wayte*'s Evidence, destroy'd his Claim to Terms by a Treaty. In short, his Death was determin'd, and the Form of a Tryal, only necessary to amuse the People with a shew of Justice. For it must be own'd, that tho' his Grace was a Peer of *England*, yet he was naturally subject to the Parliament of *Scotland*, and to have refus'd their Commands, had been as illegal and dangerous as to disobey that of *England*. We cannot have done with this short account of the Tryal, without taking notice of Mr. *Hales*'s, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, Opinion in his Argument for the Duke on the 26th. of February, *That there is an Allegiance due to the King, and another to the Parliament of Scotland*.

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ther to the Kingdom. With the Duke, the Lords Goreing and Capell, and Sir John Owen, receiv'd Sentence of Death, to be beheaded the 9th. of March. The Duke, as Whitlock writes, *Pray'd the Court to pity his Condition, and if they would spare him, he might be useful*; adding, *he was very sorry for what he had done*. But we do not find any mention of such meaness in my Lord's Carriage in any other Historian of those Times. 'Twas left to the Parliament to shew Mercy to whom they pleas'd, it being put to the Vote the House were so divided about the Lords Goreing and Capell, that the Speaker's Vote carry'd it to save the former, and execute the latter. The Duke had not so many Friends, 'twas carry'd by a considerable Majority that he should die; thus he who was the least Offender was left to the severity of their Laws, and the Lord Goreing the greatest, found Mercy; so capricious was the Justice of the Rump. His Grace wrote to his Brother in favour of his Servants, and the Morning before his Death to his Children, recommending them to their Heavenly Father. In the Evening, the Duke, the Earl of Holland (who was also condemn'd) the Lord Capell, and Sir John Owen afterwards repriev'd, were brought into one Room, where they all lay that Night. 'Twas late before they went to Bed, ev'ry one having his Friends to wait on him. The

Lord Hamilton's Servants had leave to stay all Night in the next Room, and his Grace order'd Mr. Cole to come to him about three a Clock in the Morning, which he did, and finding his Master with the other Lords, who were to suffer, all fast asleep, he left them for half an hour, when he return'd, and by that time the Duke was awake; he made him sit down, and gave him many Directions to carry to his Brother, with extraordinary composure. About five a Clock all of them were ready, and spent the time very devoutly in secret Prayer, and holy Conversation, expressing absolute Submission to the Will of God. His Grace apprehending he might be hinder'd to speak freely, or not be heard, wrote what he design'd for his last Speech, which with that he spoke on the Scaffold, is at large in Dr. Burnet's (Bishop of Salisbury) *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, consisting chiefly in vindicating his Engagement and entring *England*. About Nine a Clock the Lords were bid to prepare, and were carry'd from St. James to Sir Robert Cottons: When the Duke came thither, three or four Officers from Cromwell, desir'd him to discover what had been so often ask'd of him, and he should not only be preserv'd, but advanc'd. My Lord rejected their Offers in the same Language he had formerly us'd on the like occasion, saying, *If he had as many Lives as Hairs on his*

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his Head, he would lay them all down rather than redeem 'em by such base means. Here the Lords went to Prayers, and the Divines who waited on them did the same; after which some Wine was brought, and they all drank one to another, embrac'd, and kiss'd with much tenderness. The Duke was first led to the Scaffold, erected in *Palace-Yard*; on the way other Officers came from *Cromwell*, renewing their former Temptations, to whom his Grace gave his usual Answer. Tho' Malice that persecuted him during the whole Course of his Life, pursu'd him to the hour of his Death, for twas rumour'd that even then he was in a Treaty for a Reprieve. When he was on the Scaffold he spoke to the People to the purpose, we have before mention'd, and then call'd for the Executioner, desir'd to know how he should fit his Head for the Blow, and told him, his Servants would satisfie him. He bad them remember him to his Friends in *England*, particularly to his Mother-in-Law, the Countess of *Denbigh*, and to the old Countess of *Devonshire*, commanding them to tell her, she would no more question his Loyalty (which she had done sometimes in Raillery) since he was now to seal it with his Blood. He then kneel'd down and pray'd in a most pathetick moving manner; this done, he rose, and Dr. *Sibbald* entertain'd him with godly Discourses; the Duke embrac'd him

with a smiling cheerful Countenance, and said, *I bless God, I do not fear, I have an assurance that is grounded here,* laying his Hand on his Heart; he also embrac'd his Servants, and spoke to them severally, *You have been very faithful to me, the Lord bless you.* Turning lastly to the Executioner, he obsrv'd how he should lay his Body, he told him, he was to say, a short Pray'r to his God, while he lay along and would give a Sign by stretching out his right Hand, when he was to do his Duty, adding, he freely forgave him, as he did all the World. Having stretch'd himself out on the Ground, and plac'd his Head for the Stroke, he lay a little while praying, with great appearance of Devotion, to himself, and then gave the Sign, on which the Executioner at one Blow sever'd his Head from his Body. The Head was receiv'd in a Crimson Taffety Scarf, by two of his Servants, kneeling by him, and together with the Body, immediately put into a Coffin ready on the Scaffold, thence 'twas convey'd to a House in the *Mews*, and from thence according to the Order he had given, sent down by Sea to *Scotland*, to be interr'd in the burial Place of his Family.

We are apprehensive that many who read this History will think we have been too particular in the Relation of the tragical Scene

Scene of the Duke's Life; but considering that the use which may be drawn from the behaviour of a dying Man is of great Importance, and that whatever relates to him, every thing he does or says in his last Hours, is most apt to engage our Curiosity and Concern, we chose rather to err by saying too much than too little, since we are sure to please the major Part of our Readers, for whom we ought to have the greatest Complacency, especially when the Pleasure is mixt with Instruction. We leave it to the Impartial to form a Character of this unhappy Lord, from the true Story of his Life, and he will there find Matter enough, perhaps to reconcile the Difference between two eminent Historians that have undertaken to describe him; the one is the Bishop of *Salisbury*, who in his *Memoirs* paints him as the most Loyal and Just Man in the World; and the other, the Lord *Clarendon*, who in his *History of the Rebellion*, transmits him to Posterity, as Ambitious and Deceitful.

THE

# THE General Blake.

IT IS with double pleasure that the Author of this History begins the Life of so brave a Soldier, and so True an *Englishman*; for at the same time that he gives the World an account of the Actions of a Man whose Memory deserves to be immortal, he has a fair opportunity to shew his unalterable love to the place of his Birth; by presenting the Publick with the Picture of a Perfect *Henn* in the History of General *Blake* his Countryman. Whose Glory needs no Artifice nor Partiality to make it shining, and whose Actions fairly told, will be the greatest praise that can be giv'n him.

Robert

*Robert Blake*, whose Life we write, was the Son of *Humphrey Blake*, a Merchant of *Bridgwater* in *Somersetshire*, descended of the ancient Family of the *Blakes of Plansfield* in *Spaxton Parish* near *Bridgwater*. He was born in *August 1598*. and his Father who had acquir'd a good Estate by his Trade to *Spain*, gave this his eldest Son a Liberal Education. Having bred him at the Free-School in that Town, he was sent to *Oxford*, and in Lent Term 1615. was Matriculated in the University, as a Member of *St. Alban's-Hall*. Some time after he stood for a Scholarship of *Christ-Church*, but lost it. While he was in this Hall, he was observ'd by his Contemporaries to be an early Riser, and very Studious; yet now and then he diverted himself in Fishing and Fowling, and if we may believe the Scandal of those times, in Stealing of Swans. From *Alban Hall*, he Translated himself to *Wadham College*, to have the company of his Countrymen. He stood as a Member of that House, for a Fellowship of *Merton College* in the year 1619. but Sir *Henry Savile*, then Warden of the College, oppos'd him, though the only reason he had for't was that he was not tall enough. Happy were these Nations, that the Knight hinder'd *Blake* of a Preferment, which wou'd have kept him out of the World, where he made so glorious a Figure in his Countries Service. He continu'd in *Wadham College* three or

four years after, and in 1623. wrote a Copy of Verses on the Death of the Learned Mr. Cambden. Having finish'd the Course of his Studies, he left Oxford and retir'd to Bridgwater, where he liv'd in the Condition of a Gentleman. He could not approve of the violent Methods us'd by Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to compel Persons to Conformity in Religious Worship; the new Ceremonies gave offence to him, and his dislike of that Prelate's Proceedings in his Diocese, made him side with those who were for Moderation, and got him the Name of a Puritan. By the Interest of this Party, which was predominant at Bridgwater, as the Presbyterians have been since; he was chosen a Burgess for that Burrough to serve in the Parliament that began at Westminster the 13th. of April 1640. this Session being very short, he had not time to shew himself in the House. He lost the Election for the Long-Parliament, which open'd the 3d. of November following, and the Differences between the King and the two Houses ending in a War, he rais'd a Troop of Dragoons for the Service of the Parliament. He was afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of Colonel Popham's Regiment of Foot which was in Garrison at Lime, when Prince Maurice and the Lord Goring laid Siege to the Place, and here Colonel Blake signaliz'd himself, for Popham the Governor,

nour, found his Courage and Conduct so much to exceed his own, that he entirely left the Management of Affairs to him. His Bravery was very instrumental in saving the Town; he so harrassed the Cavaliers with his bold Sallies, that they drew off, and did not think the Place of such Consequence, as to be at the Expence of much Time, or many Men's Lives about it.

*Popham's Regiment* was rais'd by the Country for him, and made up mostly of *Somersetshire Men*, with these *Blake* surpriz'd *Taunton* for the Parliament; he found in the Town 11 Pieces of Ordnance, Store of Arms, Ammunition, Provisions and Household Goods. In the Year 1644. the Parliament gave him the Government of that Garrison, and there was not a Place of more Importance in the West of *England*, which the King's Generals knew very well, and besieg'd Colonel *Blake* three times, to drive him from so advantageous a Post, and had they been able to effect it, the *West* had been entirely reduc'd to the King's Obedience. *Blake* kept his Ground, tho' he was often driv'n to the last Extremity. He had not been long in *Taunton* before the Earl of *Essex* was forc'd to capitulate in *Cornwall*, and deliver up his Army to the King. The Royalists afterwards scour'd *Cornwall*, *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire*, without controul; three thousand of them came before *Taunton*,  
*Blake*

*Blake* immediately sent out a Party who attack'd them, made a great Slaughter, took many Prisoners, some of them Officers of Note, and oblig'd the rest to retire.

He also freed the Roads that lay near his Government from the Interruptions giv'n to Passengers, by some Gentlemen Cavaliers, who had made it dangerous to travel in those Parts; one of these Gentlemen, Sir *Francis Doddington*, meeting a Divine on the Road, ask'd, *Who art thou for, Priest?* the Minister reply'd, *For God and his Gospel*; on which, *Doddington* shot him dead, and was for this and other Barbarities voted to be excepted out of the General-Pardon agreed on by the Isle of *Wight* Treaty. To prevent the like Insolences on the High-Way, *Blake* detach'd frequently small Parties out of his Garrison to clear the Roads of those Scourers, till the Lord *Goring* marching Westward with an Army of 10000 Men, laid Siege to *Taunton*, and streighten'd the Garrison. The Parliament having notice of the ill Condition *Blake* was in, order'd Relief to be immediately sent him, who tho' he was in great want of Ammunition and Provisions, yet held out both Town and Castle to admiration; Colonel *Windham*, Governour of *Bridgwater* for the King, was then in the Royal Army, and knowing Colonel *Blake*, he undertook to manage the Busness with him; he first sent a threatening Summons to surrender

surrender on pain of Fire and Sword; and by a second Trumpeter, he mildly endeavour'd to persuade him to it, For that the Works were inconsiderable, the Place indefensible, and to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood. Blake return'd this Answer, These are to let you know, that as we neither fear your Menaces nor accept your Proffers, so we wish you for time to come to desist from all Overtures of the like nature to us, who are resolv'd to the last drop of our Blood to maintain the Quarrel we have undertaken, and doubt not but the same God, who has hitherto protected us, will e're long bless us with an Issue answerable to the Justice of our Cause; however, to him alone we shall stand or fall. Soon after the receipt of this Letter the Besiegers were charg'd by a Body of the Parliament's Forces, who broke thro' the King's, and supply'd the Town with Provisions, and what other Necessaries they wanted; however, the Parliament's main Army could not advance so fast as Colonel Blake's Necessities requir'd. The self denying Ordinance had newly past, Essex was out and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General, all Colonels and other Officers who were Members of Parliament were oblig'd to lay down their Commissions and attend the Service of the House. The Army was modell'd, and all this took up so much time, that Blake was hard put to it to defend the Castle

of *Taunton*. The Besiegers had destroy'd the Suburbs and half the Town, Sir *Richard Greenvil* had taken Colonel *Popham's* House at *Wellington*, which was some small help to *Blake*, while 'twas in the Parliament's Hands. These things being represented to the House, they order'd Major-General *Skippon* to joyn Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and hasten to the Relief of *Taunton* with 8000 Men Horse and Foot ; Money, Provisions, and a Train of Artillery were sent after them. In the mean while Colonel *Blake* was in great Streights, and the Besiegers knowing his Distress summon'd him again to surrender, but he answer'd, *He would eat his Boots first* ; and tho' the Royalists had posted themselves in part of the Town, he hinder'd their penetrating farther ; he barrocaded that part of it, which he still held with all sorts of Lumber, and made the Cavaliers pay dearly for every Inch of Ground they got of him. Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Goreing* had sometime before left the Army at the Siege of *Taunton*, to joyn Prince *Maurice* and others, who were resolv'd to bring the King off from *Oxford*, where His Majesty was apprehensive of a Siege. The Detachment they took with them weaken'd very much the Besiegers, which with the News of *Fairfax's* approach, was the reason that the Officers who commanded in *Goreing's* absence began to despair

pair of taking the Town. Fairfax hearing that the Forces before *Taunton* were not so strong as when he was first order'd to relieve it, sent Colonel *Weldon* and Colonel *Greaves* with 3000 Foot and 1500 Horse to *Blake's* Assistance, while he and *Skippon* return'd back to joyn *Cromwell* and *Brown*, who were observing the King's Motions in *Oxfordshire*. Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Goreing* succeeded in their Design to fetch off the King. His Majesty increasing his Army by the coming up of Troops from all Parts to bring him off from *Oxford*, advanc'd to succour *Chester*, and the Lord *Goreing* return'd to the Siege of *Taunton*; while these things were transacting in the mid-land Counties, Colonel *Weldon* march'd to the West with his Forces; the Royalists, when *Weldon* appear'd near their Camp, took his Men for *Goreing's*, whose return they daily expected. On the 11th. of May 1645. *Weldon* and *Graves* arriv'd before the Town, and 10 of their Men routed 100 of the Cavaliers, kill'd several, and took many Prisoners; the Royalists perceiving they were Enemies, ran away in confusion about four a Clock in the afternoon; they blockt up the way with Trees laid cross the Road to hinder *Weldon's* pursuing them. *Blake* had spent all his Ammunition, the best part of the Town was burnt in several Storms; the Royalists broke in on the inmost Streets, and were beaten

back by the Governour and the besieg'd; in this Condition *Weldon* arriv'd with Succours, to the great Joy of the Garrison and the neighbouring Country; the Besiegers having committed so many Barbarities, that the Name of *Goreing's* Company for their License and Cruelty is held to this day in abhorrence among those People, and the 11th. of *May* has been ever since, and is still an Anniversary celebrated by the Inhabitants of *Taunton* with good Clear and Bone-fires to remember their Deliverance. The Parliament wrote a Letter of Thanks to Colonel *Blake* and his Garrison, and gave them 2000 Pounds, and 500 Pound to their Governour for his and their brave Defence. The Royalists lost 1000 Men before *Taunton*, and carry'd off 12 Waggons full of wounded Men. Of the Garrison only 100 were kill'd, but many wounded, above 1000 Arms were found in *Goreing's* Camp after the Flight of his Men; and a general Collection was made by Order of Parliament for those whose Houses were destroy'd in this famous Siege.

Colonel *Blake* was not long in quiet, for no sooner had *Weldon* entred the Town, but the Lord *Goreing*, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and Colonel *Berkley* joyning their Forces together, return'd to the West, and besieg'd both *Blake* and *Weldon*; the King's dividing his Royal Army, by sending a great Body into

*Somerset*

Somersetshire to reduce this Town, prov'd the most fatal Step he took in the whole War, for Sir Thomas Fairfax pursuing him, oblig'd him to fight the decisive Battel of *Naseby*, and broke his Army in pieces, by the most compleat Victory that was gain'd during these unhappy Disputes. The Parliament were in greater fear for *Taunton* than before; *Weldon* and *Graves* sally'd out on these fresh Besiegers, and were born down by the Numbers of the Enemy; the Royalists were 14000, and *Weldon's* Forces not above 5000. *Blake* hearing what Danger *Weldon* was in, sally'd out himself at the Head of two Troops of Horse, charg'd the fore-most of the Cavaliers, and gave *Weldon's* Men time to retire into the Town, after which he made good his own Retreat, but was prest closely by the Besiegers. The Common-Council, and many eminent Citizens of *London*, on News of the second Distress of *Taunton*, voluntarily rais'd 4000 Pounds to mount 1000 Horse to joyn Major-General *Massey*, whom the House order'd to attempt the Relief of the Place; the Committee of Kent rais'd two Troops of Horse and Dragoons for the same Service, and all was not enough, considering the Danger *Blake* and *Weldon* were in. The Governour wrote to the Parliament, That he should be put to great Streights, if Succour came not speedily, he assur'd them he would

never hear of a Parley with the Enemy. That the Garrison had some Ammunition, and resolv'd to feed upon their Horses. He desir'd the House to take their State into consideration, and left all to God and them. The Parliament answer'd, That he should be speedily relieved ; that they would pay what Money he took up. They desir'd him and his Men to go on in their Vigilance and Valour, and they should never want Encouragement. Accordingly a Regiment of Dragoons was order'd to be rais'd, and to march with *Massey* towards *Taunton*. In the mean while their Affairs went ill in the West ; Colonel *Blake* could get no Intelligence of the Progress made by the two Houses for his Relief, at last Colonel *Ceely* Governour of *Lyme* found a way to inform him of *Massey*'s advancing Westward, and at the same time convey'd a small Supply of Powder into the Town. On this *Blake* commanded a Party of the Garrison to sally out on the Besiegers ; these, with the loss of 100 Men, kill'd 400 of *Goreing*'s, drove the Enemy back, and enlarg'd their Quarters five or six Miles in compass. On the 22d. of June, *Massey* in his way to *Taunton* came near *Lyme*, where he heard that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was, after his Victory at *Naseby*, bending towards the West, and already arriv'd at *Gloucester*, from whence he sent to *Massey* to meet him at a day appointed to succour Colonel *Blake*, who in another

another Skirmish had taken 120 of *Goreing's* Horse. *Massey* joyn'd *Fairfax* at *Blandford*, and *Goreing* thought he could not withstand those two Generals, so leaving his Foot at the Siege, he drew off from *Taunton* with his Cavalry, and fearing *Fairfax* would attack his Foot before they master'd the Town, of which he had lately greater hopes than ever, he order'd them to follow him towards *Exeter*, whither he at first intended to retreat, but changing his Resolution, he turn'd to *Langport*, and rested there in expectation of more Forces from the King. General *Fairfax* beat up his Quarters, routed and dispers'd his Army, and by the defeat of these Forces, *Blake* was clear'd of his Enemies, who had sieg'd him for a year together with only a few days intermission.

When he had refresh'd and recruited his Garrison, and found they were fit for Action, he march'd with a Party of his own Men, and some Companies out of the neighbouring Garrisons, which the Parliament had reduc'd, to *Dunstar-Castle*, an ancient Seat of the *Lutterels* of *Somersetshire*, and held by them for the King. Colonel *Blake* soon forc'd them to surrender, and return'd in triumph to *Taunton*, in April 1646.

He had now time to rest, and was contented to live retir'd in his Government, as not liking the hot Proceedings of the

Army, the turning out of the Presbyterian Members, and bringing the King to a Tryal. 'Tis true, in his Principles he was a Republican. 'Twas his and many other Gentlemen's Misfortune to have been so long a bus'd by the Artifices of designing Men, that they verily believ'd their Civil and Religious Liberties, their Conscience and Property were in danger. Whatever Irregularities the Ministers of State had been guilty of, during eleven Years intermission of Parliaments, were all thrown on the King, tho' His Majesty was Innocent of the Miscarriages, and in the odious Business of *Ship-Money*, would not suffer it to be levy'd till all his Judges had given it under their Hands, that he might do it by Law. However, the Leaders of the House of Commons turn'd all the Fault on the King; and the Gentlemen whom they got over to their side, from a dislike of his Administration, grew to have a dislike of his Office, which should teach others to beware how they suffer their Resentment to grow upon their Allegiance, and always to distinguish between the Ministry and the Monarchy, lest iniensibly their Zeal for the Publick should shake their Loyalty to their Sovereign. All that we can say for *Blake* in this Matter is, that he was not the only brave and honest Man who was mistaken; yet, tho' he inclin'd to a Common-Wealth Government, he thought

the

the pretended Court of Justice had no manner of right to call the King to an account, that His Majesty's Sentence was Barbarous and Illegal; and he said often, while that impious Business was depending, *That he would as freely venture his Life to save the King's, as ever he had done it to serve the Parliament.* He believ'd the King's refusing to come to the Terms propos'd to him while he was in the *Scots Army*, was a means to continue the War; and, in a Heat, joyn'd with the *Borough of Taunton* in an Address to the House of Commons, expressing their gratefulness for the Vote, for no farther Addresses to be made to the King; but he did not think the Army meant to murder him. 'Twas their apprehension of his disapproving the Methods pursu'd by the Sectaries in the House that made the Parliament resolve to disband part of his Forces, for which they order'd him five hundred Pounds.

After the King's Murder the Republicans abolish'd kingly Government, and *Blake* fell in with them. On the 12th. of February 1648. Colonel *Blake*, Colonel *Dean*, and Colonel *Popham* were made Commissioners of the Navy, and *Blake* was order'd to sail with a Squadron of Men of War in pursuit of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, who were in the *Irish Seas* to assist the Marquess of *Ormond* then in Arms for King

Charles II. in Ireland. *Blake arriv'd in June 1649.* before Kingsale where the two Princes lay in Harbour ; *Dean* cruis'd off Plymouth, *Popham* between the *Downs* and *Portsmouth*, and Sir George *Ayscue* lay in *Dublin Road* ; thus were the Parliament Masters of the Sea, and their Enemies Ships either block'd up, or flying every where before them. Prince *Rupert's* Men deserted daily, and came over to Admiral *Blake*. The Prince to hinder their Desertion, hung up ten of his Men for offering to run away. *Blake* kept him in the Harbour till the beginning of *October*, when despairing of Relief by Sea, and *Cromwell* being ready to take the Town by Land, Provisions of all sorts falling short, he resolv'd to force his way thro' *Blake's* Squadron ; *Blake* sunk three of his Ships as he bore out of the Harbour, but the Prince's little Fleet, making all the Sail they could, got clear of the Parliament's, and steer'd their Course to *Lisbon*, where his Highness was protected and caress'd by the King of *Portugal*. The Parliament declar'd War with that King for receiving their Enemies, and *Blake* follow'd the two Princes to *Portugal*. From before the River of *Lisbon* he sent to the King for leave to enter, and coming near with his Ships, the Castle shot at him. *Blake* dropt Anchor, and sent a Boat to know the Reason of this Hostility ; the Captain of the Cast'e answer'd, He had

no Orders from the King to let his Ships pass. However, the King commanded one of the Lords of the Court to Complement *Blake*; the Portuguese Lord desir'd him not to come in, except the Weather prov'd bad; for he said, his Master fear'd lest some Quarrel might happen between him and Prince *Rupert* in his Harbour; The King sent him at the same time a large Present of fresh Provisions. The Weather proving bad, *Blake* went up the River into the Bay of *Wyers*, but two Miles from the place where Prince *Rupert*'s Ships lay, and thence he sent Capt. *Moulton* to inform the King of the *Falsities* in the Prince's Declaration. The King refusing still to admit the Admiral to fall on Prince *Rupert*'s Ships, *Blake* took five of the *Braſil* Fleet richly laden, and gave the King to know, That unless he would command the Prince's Ships out from his River, he would endeavour to seize the rest of the Portuguese Fleet from *America*. In September 1650. the Prince endeavour'd to get out of the Harbour, but was soon driven in again by *Blake*, who sent home nine Ships outward bound to *Braſil*, which he had taken, and in October following, *Blake* and *Popham* met with a Fleet of 23 Sail from *Braſil* bound for *Lisbon*, of whom they sunk the Admiral, took the Vice-Admiral, and 11 other Ships, having 10000 Chests of Sugar aboard, and burnt

burnt three more, the rest were small Ships, and during the Action got into the River. When the King of *Portugal* heard of the destruction of his Ships, he came down in Person, and order'd Prince *Rupert* and his Fleet, consisting of 18 Men of War to attack the *English*, and regain the *Braſil* Men; but the *English* made home with their Prizes, having spent most of their Provisions, and Prince *Rupert* finding the Coast clear, turn'd up the *Straights* for *Marseilles*, intending to sail thence to *Barbadoes*, which Island the Lord *Willoughby* had feiz'd for the King, in hopes to get Men there and at the *Leeward-Islands*, to carry to *Scotland*, where His Majesty *Charles II.* was pushing for the Crown. In this *West-India Voyage*, Prince *Maurice* was separated from his Brother in Stress of Weather, and never since heard of. Prince *Rupert* expected Assistance from the *French* at *Marseilles*, and the Privateers of *France* having taken some *English* Ships, the Parliament order'd their Admirals to make Reprisals.

*Blake* in his return homewards met with two Ships laden with Provisions for his Fleet, and then made back to the Mouth of the River of *Lisbon*; *Popham* sail'd home to give his Masters an account of the Expedition, *Blake*, hearing Prince *Rupert* was gone up the *Straights*, sail'd thither himself, and with his own Ship, the *Phœnix*, took

took a *French Man of War* lying in wait for *English Merchant-Men*; this Prize was reported to be worth a Million; *Blake* sent her into *Cales*, and follow'd the Prince to the Port of *Carthagena*, where his Highness lay with five Ships, the remainder of his Fleet. The Admiral sent word to the Governour for the King of *Spain*, That an *Enemy* to the State of England was in his Port, that the Parliament commanded him to pursue him, and the King of Spain being in *A-mity* with the Parliament, he desir'd leave to take all advantages against their *Enemy*. The Governour reply'd, He could not take any notice of the difference of any Nations or Persons amongst themselves, only such as were declar'd *Enemies* to the King his Master, that they came in thither for Safety, and therefore he could not refuse them Protection, and that he would do the like for the Admiral. *Blake* still press'd the Governour to permit him to attack the Prince, and the *Spaniard* put him off till he could have Orders from *Madrid*. While the Admiral was cruising in the *Mediterranean*, Prince *Rupert* got out of *Carthagena* and came to *Malaga*, where he fir'd and sunk several *English Merchant-Men*, and demanded the Master of a *London Ship*, who had sign'd a Petition against a Personal Treaty with the late King, threatening to boil him in *Pitch*. The Governour would not deliver the Master up, and General

*Blake*

Blake had no sooner notice of the Prince's destroying the English Merchant-Ships at *Malaga*, but he made thither, and without the Ceremony of asking the Governour's leave, as he had done at *Cartagena*, he fell on his Highness's small Squadron, drove the *Roe-buck* ashore, sunk and burnt all the rest, except two who were good Sailors, and got away from him, this Enterprise he perform'd the beginning of *January 1650*. the Prince was in one of the Ships which escap'd ; his Highness after this Defeat landed in *Spain*, Blake demanded him of the Catholick King, who refus'd to deliver up his Person, but sent a Messenger to excuse it to the Parliament.

In *February*, Blake met with a French Man of War of 40 Guns, and commanded the Captain on Board, the Admiral ask'd him, *If he was willing to lay down his Sword*. The French-man answer'd, *He was not*. Then Blake bid him return to his Ship and fight it out as long as he was able ; which he did, and after two Hours fight submitted, kiss'd his Sword, and deliver'd it to Blake, who sent him and his Ship with four other Prizes to *England*. Not long after this Victory he came himself into *Plimouth* with his Squadron, on his arrival he had the Thanks of the House for his Vigilancy and Valour in his Station, he was now constituted one of the Lords Wardens of the Cinque Ports; and

and the fourth of March an Act pass'd for Colonel Blake, Colonel Popham, and Colonel Dean, or any two of them, to be Admirals and Generals of the Fleet for the Year ensuing.

Complaints were this Month made to the Parliament of the great Damage done by the Jersey and Scilly Privateers, which Islands and Guernsey held out still for the King; the House order'd General Blake, and Sir George Ayscue with a Squadron of Men of War to reduce them to the obedience of the Commonwealth. In May 1651. the General and Ayscue came before the Island St. Mary's, one of the Scilly Islands; they landed their Soldiers about 800 under the command of Capt. Morris who immediately master'd the whole Island, except the Castle; the Garrison were in want of Water, and Sir John Greenvil the Governour sent to Blake to treat with him. Some of the Privateers of Scilly had brought in there several Dutch Merchant-Men, the State having notice of the Loss, commanded Van Tromp their Admiral with 12 Men of War to get Satisfaction, or to fall on those Islands; he had also Instructions to treat with Greenvil to deliver up the place to the Dutch. This Intrigue was prevented by Blake, who coming with a Strength superior to Van Tromp's, the Island was surrendered to him by the Governour on Articles. There were 800 Soldiers

diers in Garrison, Colonel *Axtel*, Colonel *Sadler*, and Colonel *Le Hunt* who were Prisoners there were releas'd, and Sir *John Greenvil* return'd to *England*. After the reduction of St. *Mary's*, the other Islands of *Scilly* submitted, and *Blake* having taken Colonel *Hayns*'s Regiment on Board, and a Troop of Horse made for *Jersey*. He was beaten back by a Storm, but at last anchor'd under the Island in *October*, and tho' the Sea was still rough, resolv'd to land the next day after his arrival. At three that morning the Weather grew a little calm, and the Soldiers went into Boats; however, the Sea ran so high they could not land till 11 at night, and then the Men running their Boats on ground, leapt ashore most of them up to the Neck in water. Sir *George Carteret* Governour of *Jersey*, had 4000 Men under him. A Body of Horse charg'd the Parliament's Forces as soon as they landed; after half an hour's Dispute, the Royalists fled, and *Hayns*'s Men march'd a Mile into the Island, where they found eight Pieces of Cannon, but no Enemy to oppose them; the next morning they march'd to several Forts, where they met with nothing but Guns and Colours. The next day they drew out on a Hill in sight of *Elizabeth-Castle*, surrounded with Rocks and the Sea, inaccessible, if any thing could have resisted *Blake's* Bravery, and the Parliament's

ment's Fortune. *Hayns* lay down before Mount-Orgueil Castle, while *Blake* batter'd Elizabeth Castle with his Cannon from the Fleet. Colonel *Hayns* was three Weeks before Mount-Orgueil, which at last surrendred to him on honourable Conditions in November; he found in it 18 Pieces of Ordnance, four Barrels of Powder, 1000 Arms, and two Months Provision for 70 Men. Elizabeth Castle held out longer, there were 17 Brass Guns mounted on this Fortress, 400 Foot and 100 Horse in Garrison, *Blake* ply'd them with perpetual Fire from his Ships, his third shot fell upon the Old-Church there, kill'd and wounded 30 Persons, endanger'd the Governour and his Lady, who was so frighted, that she persuaded her Husband to treat, but Carteret was in expectation of Relief from France, Fermyn and others being, as Whitlock reports, in a Treaty at Paris, to sell that Island to the French King. The Castle holding out so obstinately, kept the Parliament's Soldiers on hard Duty, and this in December, brought a Sickness among them, which took off many. Several of the Islanders were taken as they endeavour'd to carry Supplies and Intelligence to the besieg'd, for which they were try'd and executed. In January Sir George Carteret hung out a white Flag, and deliver'd up the Castle on Articles, having stood out bravely as long as he had hopes of Relief,

tho'

tho' the Stores of Provisions, Arms and Ammunition which *Blake* found in the Castle were sufficient to have subsisted the Garrison three Months longer in Plenty. General *Blake* had again the Thanks of the House. They complemented Colonel *Hayns* also on this occasion, and this Mock-Parliament, tho' they never voted Thanks where they were not due, yet had such frequent Reason to do it, that 'twas the less taken notice of. While *Blake* was before *Elizabeth* Castle, he was on the 25th. of November elected one of the Council of State for the next Year, and *Oliver* who began now to set up for himself, careſſ'd him highly. General *Blake* never heartily consented to the Government of a ſingle Person, nor approv'd of *Cromwell's* Protectorſhip, tho' he ſerv'd him faithfully as Admiral of his Fleets; when he ſaw that *Cromwell* or ſome body else muſt be Sovereign, and that the Lawyers and the Gentlemen would not be contented without ſomething Monarchical in the Constitution of their Government; 'twas his only Fault that he was not as zealous for the Royal-Line of the *Stuarts* as he ought to have been; yet the greatest of his Enemies muſt own with Sir *Roger Manley*, than whom there could not be a Person who wiſh'd worse to his Caufe, that Colonel *Blake* was a Man for his Courage worthy to be transmitted to Posterity. After the reducing

ducing Jersey, Blake summon'd Cornet Castle in Guernsey, the only place in that Island which stood out against the Parliament ; the General proffer'd the Garrison very honourable Conditions, the Castle having held out many Years, and the Governour, Roger Burges terrify'd with the Fate of Elizabeth and Mount-Orgueil Castles, accepted them.

In March 1651. Blake was constituted sole Admiral for nine Months ; the Parliament had a long time been jealous of the Dutch, whose insolence in the Channel they could not bear, and therefore were resolv'd to do themselves Justice by Arms, since the Memorials of their Ambassadors at the Hague were ineffectual. The chief Cause of the Quarrel, was their transporting King Charles to Scotland, and supplying those they call'd Rebels there with Arms and Ammunition. One of their Ships, Capt. Green Commander, was attack'd and taken by a Dutch Man of War ; the English Merchants had complain'd very much of their Sufferings by the Hollanders in the Sound, and no Redress could be obtain'd, the Business of Antoyna, the small Satisfaction for the Murder of their Agent Dorislaus, whose Throat was cut at the Hague, six days after his arrival there, by one Whitford, Son to Dr. Walter Whitford a Scotch Divine, which Mr. Wood in his Athene Oxonienses, calls a generous Action, their Fleet disputing the right of the

Flag in the narrow Seas, and their pretending to the Herring Fishery without Licence, provok'd the Parliament to order their Admirals to seize on Dutch Ships for Reprisals, which they did, and tho' they were afterwards discharg'd, yet the *States-General* as Jealous of their Naval Glory as the *English* Commonwealth, would not put up the Affront, but order'd *Van Tromp* to insult the *English* Admiral, who was the most improper Person in the World to be dealt with so rudely. On the 19th. of May 1652. *Van Tromp* sail'd into the *Downs* with a Fleet of forty five Men of War, and Major *Bourn* who had only eight with him, sent to know the reason of his appearing there with such a Strength. *Tromp* said, *He was forc'd in by bad Weather, and had no design to prejudice the Commonwealth of England.* The Weather not being so bad as to force him in, this was look'd on as a slight Answer, and his disrespectful behaviour towards the *English*, confirm'd their Jealousie of him. The Council of State having notice of his Carriage, order'd Admiral *Blake* into the *Downs* with what Ships were ready. When he came *Van Tromp* bore up with the *English* Fleet consisting of no more than twenty three Sail nearer than there was occasion for't, *Blake* saluted him with two Guns without Ball, to require him to strike Sail, *Tromp* in contempt shot on the contrary side; *Blake* fir'd

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fir'd a second and a third Gun, which *Van Tromp* answer'd with a Broad-side; the English Admiral perceiving 'twas his intention to fight, singled out himself from the rest of the Fleet to treat with *Van Tromp* about that Point of Honour, and to prevent the Effusion of Blood, and a national Quarrel; when *Blake* approach'd nearer to *Van Tromp*, he and the rest of his Fleet, contrary to the Law of Nations, the English Admiral coming with a Design to treat, fir'd on *Blake* with whole Broad-sides. The Admiral was in his Cabin drinking with some of his Officers, little expecting to be so saluted, when the Shot broke the Windows of his Ship, and shatter'd the Stern, which put him into a vehement Passion, and curling his Whiskers, as he us'd to do when he was angry, he commanded his Men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his Heat was somewhat over, He took it very ill of *Van Tromp* that he should take his Ship for a Bawdy-House, and break his Windows. *Blake* singly sustain'd the shock of the Dutch Fleet for some time, till his own Ships and Major *Bourns* could joyn him, and then the Engagement grew hot and bloody on the Enemies side, till Night put an end to it. *Van Tromp* favour'd by the darkness drew off his Fleet to the back of Goodwin-Sands, and next morning sail'd away for Zealand, leaving behind him two

his Men of War, the one taken and the other sunk as she was towing up the River. The *Dutch* had 200 Men slain, and 500 taken; of the *English* but 15 Men were kill'd, and most of those in the Admiral's Ship which receiv'd 1000 Shot, 70 in the Hull, the Master, and 35 of the Men were wounded. *Cromwell* on the News of this Battel posted to *Dever*, to consult with the Admiral about refitting and reinforcing the Fleet, which was done. The *Dutch* appear'd again with 70 Sail, but attempted nothing, and *Blake* was not yet strong enough to attack them.

The *Dutch* Embassadors excus'd the Business as well as they could, pretending the *States-General* knew nothing of it, and would not own their Admiral. The Demands of the *English* were so high, that the Embassadors saw their Masters had no way to deal with them, but by continuing the War they had begun. *Blake* lay in the *Downs* preparing and increasing the Fleet, and on the 4<sup>th</sup>. of *June* he found himself in a Condition to meet the Enemy. To Witness his Satisfaction in the Posture of his Affairs, and to encourage his Sailors with the hopes of engaging Heav'n in their Quarrel, he, his Officers and Sea-men, as 'twas the Custom of those Times, kept several Days of *Humiliation*. A word which our modern Hero's don't very well understand, and to them this Devotion looks

looks mean, and below great Souls, who will owe no dependance on any Pow'r but their own. Capt. Peacock and Capt Taylor cruising off *Flanders*, met with two Dutch Men of War the beginning of June, and the Captains refusing to strike, the *English* fought and sunk one of them, and the other ran herself on the Sands to avoid being taken; the 10th. the Admiral having receiv'd Advice, as he lay in *Dover-Road*, of a Fleet of 26 Sail of Dutch Merchant-Men, under Convoy of three Men of War passing by the *Downs*, he detach'd a small Squadron after them, the *English* took the Merchant Ships and their Convoy, not one escaping, the Admiral had before taken ten *Holland* Ships, and had now sent up forty rich Prizes in less than a Month. He scour'd the Seas so clean of the Enemy, that their Merchants were afraid to come through the Channel, and put into *French* Ports, from whence they sent their Cargoes by Land-Carriage to *Holland*. The 2d. of July General *Blake* went with a good Fleet Northward, leaving the Command of the Ships in the *Downs* to Sir George *Ayscue*, lately arriv'd from *Barbadoes*, which he had reduc'd to the Obedience of the Rump. *Blake* in his Passage towards the North took a Dutch Man of War. The latter end of July he fell on twelve Dutch Men of War, Convoy to their Herring Busses, took the whole Convoy,

100 of their Busses, and dispers'd the rest; he sent six Men of War of the Prizes he had taken, mann'd with *English* Men to attend Major-General *Dean*, then pursuing the *Scots* in the North of *Scotland*, and the 12<sup>th</sup>. of *August* he arriv'd in the *Downs* with his Fleet and Prizes, where having refresh'd two or three days, and reinforc'd his Fleet, he stood over to the Coast of *Holland* to look for the *Dutch*; in the mean time Sir *George Ayscue* sail'd Westward, and met with *De Ruyter* off *Plymouth*, with whom he fought three Days, the Advantage on the *Dutch* side being near two Ships to his one. *Blake* follow'd Sir *George* to the West, missing the Enemy on their Coasts, and in his way took 10 *Dutch* Prizes, of which one fought Capt. *Stoaks* three Hours. The Council of State hearing *Witte Wittenſz*, *Van Tromp* desiring to be excus'd, was coming from *Holland* to joyn *De Ruyter* dispatch'd an Express to the General, ordering him back to the *Downs*. *Blake* sent six Men of War to reinforce Sir *George Ayscue* at *Plymouth*, and return'd himself. *De Ruyter* escap'd *Blake's* Fleet, consisting of 108 Sail, and Sir *George Ayscue* sail'd Eastward to joyn the General, which he did in the *Downs*. *De Ruyter* having met *Witte Wittenſz*, they made together a Fleet of 60 Sail, not much above half the Number of the *English*; *Blake* by his Scouts understanding *Witte Wittenſz*

was

was on the Back of the *Goodwin*, commanded all his Sea-men aboard on Pain of Death, and call'd a Council of War, who thought 'twas not fit to put out to Sea then, Night coming on. The next day the *Dutch* were out of sight, standing to their own Coasts, and the day proving foul, the General could not follow them with his Fleet. The *Dutch* had 200 Merchant-Men in their Convoy ; Sept. 28. the General and the Fleet got under Sail, a fresh Gale, W. N. W. at Noon he discover'd the *Dutch*, and tho' he had only three of his own Squadron with him, Vice-Admiral *Pen* with his Squadron at some distance, and the rest a League or two a Stern, he bore in among them, and was bravely seconded by *Pen* and *Bourn*, the Fight began warmly on both sides ; *Blake* sailing to the Windward of their Admiral, was aground ; the *Sovereign* struck several times, so did the *Resolution*, the *St. Andrew* and *Pen's* Ship, but they got off again without any harm, three of the Enemies Ships were wholly disabled at the first Brunt, and another as she was towing off. The Rear-Admiral, was taken by Capt. *Mildmay* ; the Victory was entirely on the *English* side, and had not Night prevented them, 'twas thought scarce a Ship of the *Dutch* Fleet would have got off ; on the 29th. as day broke, the *English* spy'd the *Dutch* N. E. two Leagues off, the General bore up to them,

them, but the *Dutch* having the Wind of him, he could not reach them ; he commanded his Light Frigats to ply as near as they could, and keep firing while the rest bore up after him, some shot was spent between the *English* and the *Dutch*, who soon hoys'd their Sails and ran for't. On the 30th. the Enemy were almost out of sight, the *English* still pursuing them, till they saw them run into the *Goree* ; the General then call'd a Council of War, and seeing the Ships were so near the *Shallows*, and that some of them wanted Provisions, 'twas resolv'd to return to the *Downs*. The *English* lost few Men, not one Ship ; the Enemy had their Rear-Admiral taken, two sunk, and one blown up, 2000 wounded Men were landed out of the *Dutch* Fleet, and *Witte Wittenesz* laid the Fault to the Cowardice of some of his Captains, and to the Numbers of the *English*. General *Blake* after the Fight, order'd several Ships to the Coast of *Holland*, and sent others a cruising, which not only secur'd the *English* Merchants in their Trade, but wonderfully annoy'd the Subjects of the States-General, and made them heartily weary of the War, fomented by the Faction of the Princess Royal of *Orange*, in favour of her Brother King *Charles II.* The large Detachments the General made from the Grand Fleet, very much weaken'd it, and the States took this Opportunity to revenge them.

themselves on him, for the many Blows he had given them.

*Van Tromp* was restor'd to his Command, and *Witte Wittensz* laid aside because Unfortunate. The former to shew he deserv'd the Favour of his Masters, was very Industrious to get a large Fleet ready to fight the *English*, and having got together eighty Men of War and ten Fireships, he sail'd directly to the back of the *Goodwin*, near the Place where the last Battel was fought; *Blake* was in the *Downs* with forty Sail only. However, *Tromp* daring him to Battel, he resolv'd not to refuse an Engagement, on the contrary, he hoys'd Sail to find the *Dutch*, and sent seven Ships to discover their Fleet, which were met by nine, sent by the Enemy on the same Errand. These began the Fight, and the two Admirals quickly advanc'd at the Head of their Squadrons; the Battel was very furious, lasting from two in the Morning on the 29th of November till six at Night. *Blake* was in the *Triumphant*, and always in the hottest of the Action; his Ship, the *Victory*, and the *Vanguard* did and suffer'd most, engaging at one time with twenty of the Enemies best Ships. *Blake* finding the *Dutch* had two Ships to his one, that the *English* were very much disabled, and that the *Dutch* had also the Advantage of the Wind, drew off his Fleet in the Night into the River of *Thames*, having lost the

*Garland*

*Garland* and the *Bonaventure* taken by the *Dutch*, a small Frigat burnt and three sunk, his remaining Ships ware shatter'd and disabled; *Tromp* bought this Victory dear, one of his Flag-Ships was blown up, all the Men drown'd, his own Ship and *De Ruyter's* were both incapable of Service, till they were repair'd. *Tromp* sail'd thro' the Channel with a Broom on his Main-Top-Mast, pretending to sweep those Seas of all *English* Shipping; but his Triumph was short-liv'd, and as this shock was the only Defeat which General *Blake* ever met with, so we have related it with all the Advantage to the Enemy that Truth will allow of.

The *English* after this Blow were very busie in repairing and recruiting their Navy, General *Dean* was newly arriv'd from *Scotland*, and was order'd to Sea with General *Monk* in joyn Commission with *Blake*. The States of *Holland* being inform'd that *Blake* and his Colleagues were providing a Fleet of eighty Sail, sent an Express to *Tromp*, then at the Isle of *Rhé*, to block up the River of *Thames*, and prevent their coming out. *Tromp* was preparing to execute their Orders, when contrary to his and his Master's expectation, he heard that *Blake*, *Dean* and *Monk*, sail'd from *Queenborough* the 8th. of *February* with sixty Men of War, and were joyn'd by twenty more at *Portsmouth*, with this Fleet they lay cross the Channel,

over-

over-against *Portland*, to discover and intercept the *Dutch*. On Friday the 18th. of February, those of the *English* Ships which were most to the South, spy'd the *Dutch*, consisting of seventy Sail by their own Accounts printed in *Holland*, and three hundred Merchant-Men in their Convoy, which had rendez-vou'd at the Isle of *Rhé*, to come away with *Van Tromp*. The *English* made what Sail they could to the Enemy, and *Van Tromp* having posted his Men of War in the Front to cover his Convoy, prepar'd to receive them. *Blake* in the *Triumph*, always in the Head of his Fleet, with twelve Ships more got up with the *Dutch*, and engag'd Board and Board with the Main-Body of their Fleet. The *Triumph* was at the last Extremity, having receiv'd seven hundred shot in her Hull, when *Lawson* in the *Fairfax* gallantly reliev'd the Admiral; the rest of the *English* Fleet being come up, the Battel continu'd with incredible Fierceness on both sides, till the *Dutch* got off in the Night; *Monk's* Ship was so slow a Saylor, he had little share in the Fight. *Blake*, *Dean* and *Lawson* were attack'd by the great Ships in the *Dutch* Fleet, and bore the brunt of the Action, *Lawson* had a hundred Men kill'd in the *Fairfax*, and *Blake* as many in the *Triumph*, the Admiral was himself wounded in the Thigh, and this Wound made him halt as long as he liv'd; his Captain, *Ball*, was  
kill'd,

kill'd, as also Sparrow his Secretary. The *Prosperity* of forty four Guns was taken by the *Dutch*, and retaken by the *Merlin* Frigot; the brave Capt. *Mildmay* of the *Vanguard* was kill'd. The *English* had many Ships disabled, but not one lost. The *Dutch* had six Men of War, one of them a Flag-Ship, taken and sunk in the Engagement. A horrible Slaughter of their Men, and Damage to their Ships, were all they had to boast of in this Day's Battel. *Blake* set his wounded Men ashore at *Portsmouth*, and made after *Tromp*; the General came up with him, off *Dungeness*, the next day in the afternoon, and renew'd the Fight; *Tromp* sent his Convoy before, and clos'd their Rear with the Ships of War, himself drew off and fought, retreating towards *Bulloign*. *Blake* order'd his light Frigats to follow the Merchant Ships, of which they took several; and *Lawson* boarded and brought off a *Dutch* Man of War. *Blake* and his Colleagues pursu'd *Tromp* closely all that Day and the following Night; in the Morning being the 20th. of *February*, the two Fleets fought again very furiously till four in the afternoon, when the Wind turning cross to the *English*, at N. N. E. *Tromp* reach'd the Sands of *Calice*, anchor'd there, and thence tided it home. The *Dutch* lost in these three Days Engagements eleven Men of War, thirty Merchant-Men, and by their

their own Confession had 1500 Men kill'd. The English had only one Ship, the *Sampson*, sunk; the Commander, Capt. *Batten* and her Crew were sav'd, yet 'twas thought *Blake's* Victory was not purchas'd without the loss of as many Men as the Enemy. There were daily Insurrections and Mutinies in *Holland*, on account of the War, which the People universally dislik'd; the States, to please them, sent Letters to the Parliament with Offers of Peace, yet it came to nothing, till two Years after.

In April following, *Cromwell* turn'd the Rump out of the Government, and took it upon himself and his Council of Officers; *Blake*, *Dean* and *Monk*, and the rest of the Admirals and Sea-Officers publish'd a Declaration of their Resolution, notwithstanding the late Change, to proceed in the performance of their Duties, and the Trust repos'd in them against the Enemies of this Commonwealth. And the General was of Opinion on the Revolution which happen'd afterwards, That 'twas his and his Mens Duty to act faithfully abroad in their Stations, and as would conduce most to the publick Peace and Welfare, whatever irregularity there was in the Councils at home; saying to his Officers, 'Tis not for us to mind State-Affairs, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us. The Dutch rejoyc'd at the Dissolution of the Parliament and hop'd the change of Government in England

*England* would be for their Advantage; that in the Confusion they expected, the Fleet would suffer thro' Neglect or Treachery. They were disappointed of their Hopes, for the 30th. of April, *Blake*, *Dean* and *Monk* had a gallant Fleet of 100 stout Ships out at Sea in search of the *Hollander's*, which they found on their own Coasts, consisting of 70 Sail; the *English* came so near them, that their Ships which were most a Head, fir'd on those of the Enemy that were most a Stern; but the *Dutch* fled to the *Texel*, and were pursu'd by *Blake* and the Admirals his Colleagues, they took fifty Dogger-Boats, and then *Blake* went Northward with twenty Men of War, while *Monk* and *Dean* observ'd *Van Tromp*, who not daring to go through the Channel with his Merchant Ships, convey'd them by the North of *Scotland* toward the *Sound*; *Monk* and *Dean* follow'd *Blake* Northward, and having joyn'd him, they all three pursu'd *Van Tromp*. At *Akerdeen*, *Blake* and the Admirals order'd all *English* Ships in the Service of the State, which were on the Coasts of *Scotland* to joyn the Grand-Fleet then lying there. Having refresh'd, they follow'd *Van Tromp*, yet with all their Care; the *Hollander*, not only secur'd his Convoy outward, but meeting the *Russia* and *East-India* Ships homeward bound, he slipt by the *English*, and convoy'd them safe into their Harbours, and knowing

knowing *Blake* was still in the North, he came with his Fleet into *Dover-Road*, shot into the Town, and did some Damage to the Houses, the Castle playing upon him, made him tack about, and stand to the Southward; *Blake* stay'd in the North, expecting to pick up some of the *Dutch* Merchant-Men, and *Monk* and *Dean* with eighty Men of War return'd to the *Texel*; from thence they order'd all Ships of Force in the River and Out-Ports to come to them; hearing *Tromp* was at *Goree* with 120 Men of War, and expected more. June the 3d. the two Fleets met, and engag'd about the North Fore-land, as is at large related in the Life of General *Monk*. On the 4th. in the afternoon, General *Blake* came with eighteen fresh Ships, and gave the *English* a compleat Victory, which the *Dutch* till then disputed. If they had not secur'd themselves on the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calice*, by which means the *English* great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been taken or destroy'd. General *Dean* and another Captain were the only Officers of Note that dy'd in the Battel, which so humbled the *States-General*, that they immedately dispatcht a Vessel with a white Flag, and a Messenger to prepare the way for four Ambassadors, *Mijn Heers-Newport*, *Youngstall* *Bevering* and *Vander Perre*, to treat a Peace with *Oliver*, who had now the Government in

in his Hands. He call'd a Convention of 140 Persons, some from every County, who gave themselves the Name of a Parliament, and he assign'd the Power into their Hands. After the last Fight with the *Dutch*, the Admiral was so discompos'd in his Health, that he could not serve at Sea till the next Year, and 'twas with regret that he was forc'd by his Illness to lie ashore, when *Monk*, *Pen* and *Lawson* gave that dreadful Defeat to the *Dutch*, on the 29th. of *July* following; however, he assisted those Generals with his Counsel, and was thought as worthy of a Gold Chain, which the new Representatives order'd to be given to *Blake*, *Pen*, *Monk* and *Lawson*, as a Mark of their Favour and good acceptance of their Service. Medals of Silver were bestow'd on the inferiour Officers, and on the 10th. of *October*, General *Blake* coming into the House, of which he was a Member, receiv'd their Solemn Thanks for his great and faithful Services. The Convention civilly gave back the Power to *Cromwell*, which they had receiv'd from him. Now was *Oliver Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; stil'd *His Highness*, and rul'd as if he had been Sovereign Lord of these three Kingdoms. He alter'd the method of Elections, fix'd the Number of the Representative to 400, and call'd a Parliament, in which the General was chosen a Burgess for the Bough

rough of Bridgwater; which place, though a wealthy populous Town, was by Oliver's new Constitution to send but one Member, and they could not make a better Choice than of *Blake* their Country-man.

The 6th. of December, an Act pass'd to appoint General *Blake*, General *Monk*, General *Pen* and Colonel *Desborough* Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy for six Months, and from this time to his Death, says *Anthony Wood*, a hearty Enemy to the Parliament and Oliver; *Blake continu'd* a fortunate *Vindicator* of his Country's Privileges from the incroachments of insulting Neighbours, a victorious *Enemy* of the Spaniard, and was highly valu'd of all, even the Royalists. The Protector after his accession to that high Office, however, he got it, employ'd his Power to the best Advantage for himself and *England*, when the Publick Welfare, and his Private Ends were to be serv'd together.

In November 1654. he fitted out two large Fleets, and sent one of them under General *Blake* to the *Streights*; the other under General *Pen* to the *West-Indies*; *Blake* arriv'd before Cadix-Road in the beginning of December, and was receiv'd with great Respect and Civility by the *Spaniards*, and indeed by People of all Nations, as well as the *English*, who were then in the Port. A Dutch Admiral would not wear his Flag while the Ge-

neral was in the Harbour. One of his Victuallers was separated from the rest of his Fleet at the Streights-Mouth, and fell in with the French Admiral and seven French Men of War; the Admiral examin'd the Captain of the Victualler, where Blake was, drank his Health with five Guns, and discharg'd the Captain and his Ship. The dread of his Arms was so great, that the Algerines, when they met with any Salley Men of War that had any English aboard them, forc'd those Rovers to deliver them up, and then brought the Captives to General Blake to gain his Favour. He arriv'd at Algier the 10<sup>th</sup>. of March, and anchor'd without the Mould, sending an Officer to demand Satisfaction of the Dey, for Piracies committed by the Algerines on the English, and to require immediate delivery of all English Captives; the Dey return'd this Answer, That the Ships and Captives taken, belong'd to particular Men, and therefore he could not restore them without discontenting all his Subjects; yet he might, if he pleas'd, redeem what English Captives were there, at a reasonable Price set on their Heads, and if he thought good, they would conclude a Peace with him, and for the future offer no Acts of Hostility to those of his Nation. With this Message he sent a large Present of live Beef, Mutton, and other fresh Provisions. From Algier he sail'd to Tunis, and demanded Satisfaction of the Governour for the Damage

Part I. General Blake.

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Damag'd the English had sustain'd by the Tuniseen Pirats, and the freedom of the English Captives. The Governour, or Dey, having as he imagin'd, secur'd their Ships under their Castles, mann'd a Line, and plant-ed Guns along the shoar to defend them, sent the General an Answer of Contempt. Here are our Castles of Guletta and Porto Ferino, do your worst, we fear you not. They also refus'd to supply him with fresh Water.

Blake in a Passion curl'd his Whiskers, and after a short Consultation with his Officers, made into the Bay of Porto Ferino with his great Ships and their seconds, and came within Musket-shot of the Castle and the Line, he fir'd on both so warmly, that in two Hours the Castle was render'd defence-less, and the Guns on the Works along the shoar were dismounted, tho' sixty of them lay'd at a time on the English. The General found nine Ships in the Road, and order'd every Captain of his own Ships to man his Long-boat with choice Men, and these to enter the Harbour, and fire the Tuniseens, while he and his Fleet cover'd them from the Castle, by playing continually on it with their Cannon. The Sea-men in their Boats boldly assulted the Pirats, and burnt all their Ships with the loss of twenty five Men kill'd, and forty eight wounded. This daring Action spread the Terror of his Name thro' Africa

and *Afia*, which had for a long while been Formidable in *Europe*. From *Tunis* he went to *Tripoli*, and concluded a Peace with that Government ; thence he return'd to *Tunis*, and threatening to do farther Execution, the *Tuniseens* implor'd his *Mercy* from their Works, and begg'd him to grant them a Peace, which he did on Terms glorious and profitable for his Country. From thence in April 1655. he sail'd to *Malta*, to require the Knights to restore the Effects taken by their Privateers from the *English*, where he had the same Success as at *Tripoli*, *Algier* and *Tunis*, and brought the Knights to Reason. While he was thus Triumphing in the Mediterranean, the *Spaniards* to Revenge the loss of *Jamaica*, taken from them by *Pembroke* and *Venables*, seiz'd on the *English* Effects in *Spain*, confin'd the Factors to their Houses, and declar'd War with the Protector. *Blake* often met with their Ships of War, but they never would engage, some small Skirmishes happen'd, not worth our notice. The General finding his Provisions fell short, sent a good part of his Fleet home ; after these were gone, the *Spanish* Fleet assaulted him in the Straights, but were soon weary of the Business, and glad to get off again. In October they took an *English* Man of War by Treachery ; the General knowing better how to arm himself against Force than Fraud, tho' his Conduct in any great Action

ction was always equal with his Courage, and a braver Soldier never fought on the Ocean. *Blake's Successes in the Mediterranean*, made the Italian Princes court the Protector. The *Venetians* and the Great Duke of *Tuscany* sent splendid Embasies to him, and enter'd into his Alliance.

In 1656. General *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich* was order'd with a Squadron to joyn *Blake* in the Streights, and after that to block up *Cadix*, whither the Plate-Fleet us'd yearly to come and unlade their Silver. *Blake* having receiv'd Orders, put them effectually in execution, and lay with *Montague* several Months before the Harbour. The Spaniards had then a Squadron of Men of War there, which the General could not come at, they being defended by the Castles on the Island, and nothing could provoke them to come out and fight him. They were in hopes to tire out the *English*, and that want of Water and Provisions would force them to leave the Coasts of *Andolusia*; but *Blake* was plentifully supply'd with both Provisions and Water in *Wyers-Bay* in *Portugal*. Hither were the Generals *Blake* and *Montague* gone, when Capt *Stayner* (whom they had left with seven Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour) being on the 1st. of September driven out to Sea by stress of Weather, spy'd the Spanish West-India Fleet making directly for *Cadix*, his Ships were

somewhat to the Leeward, but Stayner bore up in the Head of them with all the Sail he could make, and after some Hours sail himself in the Speaker, the Bridgewater and Plymouth Frigats got up with the Spaniards, the four other Ships of his Squadron being still to the Leeward. With these three Ships, Stayner fought eight Spanish Men of War and Galleons within four Leagues of the Bay of Cadiz. The Admiral *Don Marco del Porto* ran his Ship ashore in the Bay, he had 600000 Pieces of Eight aboard. The Vice-Admiral commanded by *Don Francisco de Esquvel*, in which was 1200000 Pieces of Eight, and another Galleon commanded by *Don Rodriguez Calderon* were taken, and afterwards fir'd, one wilfully by the Spaniards, the other by accident. In the Vice-Admiral, the Marques of *Bajadox*, who was returning to Spain from *Pera*, where he had been Vice-Roy, was burnt with his Wife and Daughter, who was to be marry'd to the Duke of *Medini Celi*. 'Twas this Enterprise, and this Accident that Mr. Waller sings of in his Poem, which begins thus;

Now for some Ages had the Pride of Spain,  
Made the Sun shine, &c.  
The Rear-Admiral with two Millions of  
Plate aboard, was taken and preserv'd, and  
another Ship loaden with Hides and Co-  
cheneal.

cheateal. There were sav'd from the Fire, *Don Francisco de Lopez*, the Marques's eldest Son, his youngest *Don Josepho de Sunega*, and two of their Sisters, with about 90 other Persons. A Man of War and an Advice-Boat from the Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, got into *Gibraltar*, and the other two Ships ran ashore and bilg'd. Six of the eight were destroy'd or made Prize. General *Montague* with the young Marques's *del Bajadox* the Prisoners, and the Plate, which amounted to above two Millions, return'd to *England*. The Prisoners were entertain'd according to their Quality, and the Bullion coin'd at the *Tower*, a grateful Supply to the Protector, who had learnt so much of Arbitrary Government, as not to be fond of Parliaments, Principles fit only for a Tyrant or an Usurper. *Blake* staid before *Cales* and cruis'd up and down in the *Streights* all the Winter; he was at his old Station, the Mouth of that Harbour, when he receiv'd Information that another Spanish Plate-Fleet had put into the Bay of *Sancta Crux*, in the Island of *Teneriffe*; he weigh'd Anchor with twenty five Men of War, the 13th. of April 1657. from before *Cadix*, and on the 20th. rode with his Ships off the *Offing* at *Sancta Cruz*, where he saw sixteen Spanish Ships lying in order almost like a Half-Moon; to the North of the Bay is a Castle well fortify'd with Cannon, besides seven Forts more about the

Bay, mounted with three, four, and six Guns, all united by a Line of Communication from Fort to Fort, mann'd with Musqueteers. *Don Diego Diagues*, the Spanish Admiral, on sight of *Blake's* Fleet, order'd all his small Ships to moar close to the shoar, cover'd by the Castles and Forts, and posted six great Galleons farther off at Anchor, with their Broad-sides to the Sea; but all this could not daunt the General. He call'd a Council of War, who agreed with their Chief, and resolv'd to attack the Enemy. *Blake* commanded Capt. *Stayner* in the Speaker Frigat, with a Squadron to make into the Bay, who by eight the next Morning fell on the *Spaniards*, and fought them near an Hour; the General to share the Toil and Danger, as well as the Glory of the Action, seconded *Stayner*, and posted some of the greater Ships to cannonade the Forts and Castles, that play'd incessantly upon them; these beat the *Spaniards* from their Forts and their Lines. *Blake* fought four Hours with the Galleons, which made a brave Resistance, but nothing could resist the intrepid Courage of the General, and he ply'd the Enemy so warmly with his Broad-sides, that at last the *Spaniards* abandon'd those great Ships, the least of them bigger than the biggest of *Blake's*, and ran ashore. The Sea-men left the smaller Vessels which lay under the Forts, and *Stayner* burnt every one of them.

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The General did the same by the Galleons which he could not bring off, being himself very much shatter'd in the Engagement, so were the rest of his Squadron. Thus was the whole Plate-Fleet destroy'd ; and when the Action was over, the Wind which before blew strong into the Bay, suddenly veer'd about to S. W. and brought his Ships safe out to Sea. The General had no more than forty eight Men kill'd, and a hundred and twenty wounded in this glorious Enterprise, the boldest that ever was perform'd by an English-Man, and no Nation in the World have perform'd bolder than the English. The Admiral's Brother, Capt. Benjamin Blake, for some Misdemeanour in the Fight, was by his special procurement discarded, and his Ship given to another ; for while *Blake* had the management of Sea-Affairs ; Favour and Interest would have been of no use to him that had not done his Duty ; and as his own Reputation was spotless, his Valour and Fidelity unquestion'd, so he would employ none whose Faith or Bravery was suspected, no Recommendation could procure a Commission for such a Person in his time ; and his Care and Conduct as much contributed to his numerous Victories as his Courage and Fortune. These his last Actions render'd his Name as terrible to the Spaniards, as Drake's had been before to them. Oliver's  
second

second Parliament then sitting, ordered a Day of Thanksgiving for the Success of their Arms at *Santa Cruz*, and sent Blake a Present of a Diamond Ring worth 300l. The Protector knighted Capt. Richard Stayner at his first coming into England, for this and former Services. The General brought back his Victorious Fleet to the Coasts of *Andalusia*, and cruis'd off the Harbour of *Cales* to intercept the Spanish Ships from all Parts bound for that Port, the best in Spain. The Fatigue of the last three Years, he having been always on Board, made him contract several Distempers, and impair'd his Health. The *Scurvy* and *Dropsey* troubled him most, and these Diseases increasing on him, he thought of returning homewards, which he did, but tho' he often enquir'd for Land, he never liv'd to see his dear Country; he dy'd the 17th. Day of *August* 1657. aboard his Ship the *St. George*, as he entred into *Plymouth* Sound.

The *Dropsey* and *Scurvy* were the Distempers that hasten'd his Death, if not the Cause of it; his Body was the next day embalm'd and wrapt up in Lead, his Bowels were bury'd in the great Church at *Plymouth*, and his Corps convey'd by Seal to *Greenwich-House*, where it lay in State for some time, from thence on the 4th of *September*, it was carry'd by Water in a Barge of State, cover'd with Velvet, adorn'd with Escutcheons

Escutcheons and Pencils, accompany'd by his Brother, Relations and Servants in Mourning, & by Oliver's Privy-Council, the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the Field-Officers of the Army, and many other Persons of Honour and Quality in a great number of Barges and Wherries cover'd with Mourning, marshall'd and order'd by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the Solemnyt. Thus they past to Westminster-Bridge, and at their Land-ing, proceeded in the same manner thro' a Guard of several Regiments of Foot to the Abby, where he was interr'd in a Vault made on purpose in Henry the Seventh's Chappel. And let us ask the most prejudic'd Enemies to his Cause, if there could be a Place too honourable to lay the Bones of so brave a Soldier in, and of so true a Lover of his Country. He abhor'd the Proceedings of the Regicides, and was not in the least stain'd with His Majesty, the Royal Martyr's Blood. He had done such great things for England, and asserted her Sovereignty of the Sea, not only in the Channel, but in the Streights, in the North, and in all Parts of the Christian World, as might in some measure attone for his mistaken Zeal, and his Republican Principles; but his Body four Years after on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 1661. was by express Command taken

taken up and bury'd in a Pit in St. Margaret's Church-yard. He was certainly a Man of as much Gallantry and Sincerity as any of his time, wholly devoted to his Country's Service, resolute in his Undertakings, and most faithful in the performance of them, with him Valour seldom miss'd its Reward, nor Cowardise its Punishment. This is the Character given of him by Mr. Anthony Wood, and no Man will accuse him of Partiality towards Blake or any of the Parliament's Servants. He was jealous of the Liberty of the Subject, and of the Glory of his Nation, and as he made use of no poor Artifices to raise himself to the highest Command at Sea, so he needed no Interest but his Merit to support him in it. He scorn'd nothing more than Money, which as fast as it came in, was as fast laid out by him in the Service of the State; and to shew that he was animated by that brave publick Spirit, which has been since reckon'd rather Romantick than Heroick; he was so disinterested, that tho' no Man had more Opportunities to enrich himself than he who had taken so many Millions from the Enemies of England, yet he threw it all into the Publick Treasury, and did not die five hundred Pounds richer than his Father left him, which the Author avers from his personal Knowledge of his Family and their Circumstances, having been bred up in it

in his younger Years, and has often heard his Brother give this account of him. He was Religious according to the pretended Purity of the Times, but would frequently allow himself to be merry with his Officers, and by his Tenderness and Generosity to the Sea-men, had so endear'd himself to them, that when he died, they lamented his Loss as that of their common Father. He never incumber'd himself with the Cares of a Family, living and dying a Batchellor, leaving only one Brother behind him, Mr. Benjamin Blake, who commanded a Ship in the Enterprise at *Sancta Cruz*, as we have before mention'd ; and this Gentleman in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles II.* being a Dissenter, suffer'd so many Hardships on account of his Conscience, that he was forc'd to sell the little Estate his Brother the General left him, scarce two hundred Pounds a Year, and transport himself and his Children to *Carolina*.

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# THE LIFE OF General Monk, Duke of ALBEMARLE.

**G**eorge Monk (afterwards Duke of Albemarle, was second Son to Sir Thomas Monk of Potheridge in the County of Devon. He was born December the 6th. 1608. His Family was Ancient, and formerly possess'd of a great Estate, though at the time of his Birth twas very much diminish'd. Sir George Smith of the same County, his Grand-father and God-father, bred him up from a Child, and even then he shew'd an inclination to Martial Exercises. At the Age of seventeen

he was recommended to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, under whom he first bore Arms, sooner than his Father design'd he should. The occasion was this; King *Charles the First* in his Progress to *Plimouth* was attended by the Nobility and Gentry of *Devonshire*, and Sir *Thomas Monk* fearing to be taken by the Under-Sheriff in Execution of a Judgment given at Law against him for Debt, sent his Son *George* with a Present to him, and a Request not to use any Violence on him while he waited on His Majesty. The Under-Sheriff receiv'd the Present, and promis'd Mr. *Monk* not to disturb his Father during his attendance on the King; yet forgetting both Promise and Present, he seiz'd him in the presence of the whole County; which young Mr. *Monk* took for such an Affront, that he rode to *Exeter* to find him, and there can'd him as much as he deserv'd for his Insolence and Treachery. After this Assault, the Youth did not think fit to stay longer at Home, and thought he could be no where so safe as in the Army, from the trouble of a Suit which the Under-Sheriff commenc'd with him. So in the Year 1626, to avoid his Prosecution, he went with the Lord *Wimbleton* to *Cadiz*, and was afterwards engag'd in the Descent on the Isle of *Rhé*, being Ensign to the brave Sir *John Burroughs*. That unhappy Enterprize did not discourage him, he resolv'd to make his

his Fortune by the War, and all things being at Peace in *England*, he enter'd himself in the Earl of Oxford's Regiment, in the Service of the Prince of *Orange*, the most famous Captain of his Age

In *Holland* he made himself Master of the Art Military. He serv'd in the Lord *Goring*'s Company, who, though he was profuse and extravagant in his Expences, was severe and regular in his Discipline. He was not long in *Holland* before he had a Company given him, with which he was at several Sieges, but the Frugality of the *Dutch* would not allow the Prince of *Orange* to maintain an Army strong enough to hazard a Battel with the *Spaniards*. *Monk* and his Company were one Winter quarter'd at *Dort*, and the Magistrates of that City pretending to greater Privileges than any other of that Province, took upon them to punish and chaitise his Soldiers. The Captain vigorously oppos'd them, and would not suffer the Burghers to insult his Men, nor usurp any Authority over them. The Magistrates appeal'd to the *States-General*, and though the Prince of *Orange* was always favourable to the Soldiery, yet *Dé Wit* (Father of the *De Wits*, since Famous for their Faction and Sufferings) order'd the matter so by his Influence over the Council, that Capt. *Monk* was oblig'd to change his Quarters for the worse. This usage

usage disgusted him, and he staid in *Holland* but a very little while after it.

At his return into *England* he got a Commission, by means of his Friends, the Earl of *Leicester* and the Countess of *Carlile*, and was employ'd in the two Expeditions against the *Scots*. The Earl of *Arundel* commanded in the first, and the Earl of *Northumberland* in the second. There was nothing done worth our notice in this place, in either of the Northern Expeditions, and a Peace following between the King and the *Scots*, Mr. *Monk* found his Circumstances in such an ill Posture, that he resolv'd to venture to *Madagascar*, whither the talk was then, that a large Colony should be sent. But in the Year 1641. the Lord *Leicester* being (by consent of Parliament) made Deputy of *Ireland*, preferr'd his Cousin *Monk* to be Lieutenant-Colonel of his Regiment, consisting of twelve hundred Men. The Rupture between the King and the two Houses hinder'd my Lord's going over. However, he sent Colonel *Monk* to *Dublin* to command his Regiment, who signaliz'd themselves by their frequent Excursions on the *Irish* Rebels. The Lords Justices, in the Earl of *Leicester*'s absence, would have given *Monk* the Government of the Castle of *Dublin*, if the Parliament had not interpos'd and got that Commission sent to another. The Troubles increasing in *England*,

the King was pleas'd to leave the reducing the *Irish Rebels* for a more happy occasion; and rather chose to turn the Forces the Parliament had rais'd for that Service, on those of his Subjects who were in Arms against him in *England*. *Monk's Regiment*, with Sir *Michel Earnly's*, the Lord *Lilles*, Sir *Richard Greenvil's* and others, was recall'd by His Majesty; and Colonel *Monk* on his return was presented to him by the Lord *Digby*, in *Christ-Church Garden* in *Oxford*. The Colonel had a long Conference with the King, about the Miscarriages in the management of his Affairs, and told him there was little to be hop'd from an Army commanded by such Officers as His were. In 1643. the *Irish Troops* in conjunction with the Royalists in *Cheshire* besieг'd *Nantwich*, and on the report of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Sir *William Brereton's* marching to relieve the Place, *Monk* hastned from *Oxford* to his Regiment at that Siege. On the approach of the Parliament Army, the King's drew out to fight them, and were totally routed and dispers'd, *January the 25th*. One thousand were kill'd upon the Spot, above a 100 Officers taken, among these Major-General *Gibson*, Sir *Michael Earnly*, Sir *Richard Fleetwood*, Sir *Francis Butler* and Colonel *Monk*, with many other Gentlemen &c Note. *Monk* was carry'd Prisoner to *Hull* and thence, by Order of Parliament remov'd to the *Tower*.

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The Colonel had behav'd himself gallantly in *Ireland* while he serv'd there against the Rebels, and his deserting that Service provok'd the Parliament so much, that 'twas fear'd they wold have push'd their Resentment farther than a Prison, had he not pacifi'd them by his future Obedience to their Ordinances. Besides that, his Family was not rich, he was a younger Brother, and the Supplies he received from his Relations were scarce sufficient for his Subsistence in the *Tower*. The King having notice of his wants, sent him privately one hundred Pounds from *Oxford*, a great Sum out of the *Exchequer* there. Yet, not long after, when my Lord *Lisle* succeeded his Father the Lord *Leicester*, in the Government of *Ireland*, the Colonel hearken'd to the offers that were made him by the new Deputy, who held his Power of the Parliament. He propos'd to *Monk* his Enlargement, and a Regiment, if he would qualifie himself, and November the 13th. 1646. the Colonel made his Application to the House of Lords, informing them he had taken the Solemn League and Covenant, and was ready to take the negative Oath. On which Compliance the Lords recommended him to the Commons to grant him a Commission in consideration of his *Valour, and his Skill in Martial Affairs*. The Commons believing they might trust him after he had

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given them such convincing Proofs of his good Disposition towards them, agreed to the desire of the Lords.

Thus he a second time embark'd for *Ireland*, with a Commission from the Parliament to reduce the Rebels in that Kingdom, and a particular Ordinance for him to execute Martial-Law. The Marquess of *Ormond*, contrary to expectation, refus'd to deliver the City of *Dublin* to the Lord *Lisle* and the Parliaments Commissioners, who were oblig'd to leave the Road of *Dublin*, and land their Soldiers at *Belfast*, where *Monk* had Colonel *Broket's* Regiment bestow'd on him, with the Command of the Forces in the North of *Ireland*. The Protestant *Scots* in *Ulster* refus'd to joyn with him, or own the Parliament's Authority; and he himself stood off for some time, pretending he was in want of sufficient Strength to oppose the Rebels, till he saw the Parliament succeeded in their Affairs; he then acted vigorously, storm'd *Bellahor-Castle*, master'd it, and afterwards took *Nabor*. Colonel *Jones* joyning with him, he drove the *Irish* from Port *Lester* and *Ashboy*, and carry'd off a great Booty. He also defeated, and took Major-General *Monroe*, whom the Parliament order'd to be sent to *England*, and Capt. *Brough* had two hundred Pounds for bringing him over. *Monroe* was confin'd Prisoner to the *Tower*;

Tower ; he had deserted the Parliament, and was himself deserted by his Army. The Parliament order'd Colonel *Monk* five hundred Pounds and the Governments of *Carrickfergus* and *Belfast* for this Service, and for defeating *Mac Cartey's* Forces, killing eight hundred, and taking as many Prisoners, with all their Arms and Baggage, the 4th. of May 1648. In *Ulster* he maintain'd a long and bloody War with *Owen Roe-O'Neal*, the bravest Commander of the Rebels ; he had been Governour of *Arras* for the King of *Spain*, and was an Officer of great Experience : However, *Monk* by destroying the Country, spoiling the Forage, and fetching in the Corn, almost starv'd the *Irish* Army, and forc'd *O'Neal* to remove from before *Londonderry*, where he had a long while besieg'd Sir *Charles Coot* ; yet *O'Neal* would not raise the Siege, unless Colonel *Monk* would consent to a Truce for some Months, which he granted. By these Articles *O'Neal* was to assist him, if the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchiqueen*, revolted from the Parliament, or any of their Enemies, Protestants or Papists should attack him. In July 1649. the Lord *Ormond* in, Arms for the King, approach'd towards *Dublin*, and the Lord *Inchiqueen* appear'd near *Dundalk* ; *Monk* then lay there, and sent to *O'Neal* to be in a readiness to joyn him, this Traytor accordingly march'd with twelve hundred Foot

and two hundred Horse, within three Miles of the *English* Army, and receiv'd twenty Barrels of Powder by Colonel *Monk's* Order; but upon the Lord *Inchiqueen's* coming up to him, after a slight Skirmish, *Owen* and his Men fled to the County of *Longford*, and *Monk*, who was come out to meet him, retreated to *Dundalk*, which place was the same Night summon'd by *Inchiqueen*. The Colonel was here abandon'd by Capt. *Trevor* and most of his Soldiers, who swore, they could not in Conscience fight under a Person that had enter'd into a confederacy with *Roe-O'Neal*, Head of the Native *Irish*, and offer'd their Service to the *Scots*, then going to make War on the *English* Parliament. Their Desertion was the reason that *Dundalk* was presently deliver'd to *Inchiqueen*, on no other Conditions, but that *Monk* might dispose of what was his as he saw good.

The Colonel, now Major-General, went for *England*, after the surrender of *Dundalk*, to defend himself for treating with *O'Neal*, which the Council in *Ireland* disapprov'd, and wrote to the Parliament to know their Pleasure, and how they should act in the Matter. *Monk* landed at *Chester* the 24th. of *July*, and went to *London* the 31st. he was summon'd to appear before the House, who after hearing him at the Bar, pass'd this Vote the 10th. of *August* 1649. 'That

' they

' they did Disapprove of what Major-General *Monk* had done in concluding a Peace with the Grand and Bloody *Irish* Rebel *Owen Roe-O'Neal*, and did abhor the having any thing to do with him therein. Yet are verily persuaded, that the making the same by the said Major-General, was in his Judgment for the most Advantage of the *English*-Interest in that Nation. And that he shall not be further question'd for the same in time to come. This Vote highly offended the Major-General, though not so much as some Passages in the House, reflecting on his Honour and Fidelity. 'Twas the Opinion of several of the Members, either not to have question'd him at all, or not to have employ'd him afterwards; and some have thought he never forgot the Printing and Publishing his Treaty with *O'Neal*, and his Defence of it. *Monk's* Friends endeavour'd to clear his Reputation; his Reasons for his agreement with *O'Neal* were also Printed, yet nothing could wipe off the Stain of his treating with the bloody *Irish* Rebels till 'twas forgot in his future Fortune.

His next appearance was under *Cromwell*, who was his intimate Friend, as *Monk* thought it his present Interest to be *Cromwell's*. *Oliver* was marching towards *Scotland*, when the Major-General offer'd him his Service, and *Cromwell* took six Com-

panies out of Colonel Fenwick's Regiment, and six out of Sir Arthur Haselrig's, to form a Regiment for him. He was put at the head of his new Regiment at New-Castle, and made Lieutenant-General of the Artillery.

In August 1650. the General enter'd Scotland with 12000 Foot and 2000 Horse ; the King was at Edinburgh, and the Scots General broke up from Haddington with 20000 Men, resolving to dispute the Pass of Copper-speith with the English. Monk led the Van, and march'd his Troops in the Night in so good Order, that the Enemy did not perceive them till next Morning, when they shew'd no inclination to attack them. At Dunbar Fight he behav'd himself bravely, and advanc'd with his Half-Pike in his Hand against Lower's Regiment, which made a stout Resistance till one of Monk's Sergeants kill'd Capt. Campbell, whose Death discourag'd his Men, and they gave Ground, the rest of the Regiment following their Example, were put to flight, and almost all of them cut to pieces, which contributed very much to Oliver's Victory ; the greatest Defeat, considering the Number of the Scots, and their advantage of the Ground, which they ever had from the English. Monk after this disperst, a Body of Moss Troopers took Derlington, Roswel, Brothwick and Tantallon Castles, and the taking of the last, clear'd

the

the Road between *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*. King *Charles* the Second being now in *Scotland*, got together another Army, and slipping by the *English*, march'd into *England*; *Cromwell* follow'd the *Scots*, and left 6000 Men with *Monk*, made Lieutenant-General, to reduce the Towns that held out against the Parliament's Army in *Scotland*. The first thing he did after *Cromwell* left him, was the Siege of *Sterling*, which was deliver'd by the Garrison without the Gover-nour's Consent, the *Highlanders* being fright-ed with his Mortar-Pieces. He afterwards took *Dundee*, the richest Town in *Scotland* of the bigness, by Storm, and put *Robert Lumsdaine*, who commanded there, and 800 Men, to the Sword. Here some of his Sol-diers got 500*l.* apiece for their Plunder. The Citizens of *St. Andrews* sent the Keys of the City to the General, who fin'd them fifty Pounds, for his Soldiers, they having re-fus'd former Offers by his Lieutenant. The *Scots* quitted *Aberdeen*, and here the General was taken ill; during his Sick ness, Colonel *Okey* reduc'd the Country about *Monroes*. The General, while he lay at *Aberdeen*, reform'd the University, making Colonel *Fenwick*, *Mosely* and *Desborough*, Vi-sitors, whose Swords were more effectual than their Sermons; these turn'd out the Principal and Professors of the College, and put in Se-ctaries in their Places. The General having notice

notice of a meeting at *Elit* of several Lords of the Kirk Party, to consult of a rising for the King, sent Colonel *Allured* with a Party of Horse to surprize them, who took old *Lesley*, the Lord Chancellor, and other Lords, seven of their Ministers, and three hundred Gentlemen Prisoners. The Lord *Argyle* fortify'd his Strong-holds, and Factions increas'd among the Kirk Party, some were for joyning with the *English*, and others for standing by their King. The Lord *Huntley* was the only Person of Note that stood firm from the beginning, he raised Men in the North, and *Argyle* summon'd a Parliament but few obey'd his Summons, fearing to offend the Lieutenant-General, and those Lords and Gentlemen who met *Argyle*, sent to the General to treat and submit on honourable Terms, which he granted. The Lord *Huntley* abandon'd by the Kirk-Men, who promis'd to assist him, was forc'd to lay down his Arms, and do as the rest had done. *Monk* left Major-General *Dean* to observe *Argyle*, who durst not venture out of his Castle, and went himself to *Edinburgh* to assist at the opening the Commission for himself, the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Major-General *Lambert*, Major-General *Dean*, Colonel *Fenwick*, Alderman *Tichburn*, and Major *Salway*, to take on them the Civil Government, which they settled in a little time,

and

and made *Scotland* a Province subject to the Parliament of *England*, whose Judges went their Circuit there. *Monk* being still discompos'd in his Health, return'd to *London*, and thence he went to the *Bath*, by which he found Benefit, and in a few Weeks recover'd beyond expectation.

The *Dutch* War happening not long after, the General took a Commission to serve at Sea, as one of the Admirals of the *English* Fleet, the Parliament joyn'd him and *Dean* with General *Blake*; to ease the latter of part of the Burthen of such a high Charge. The 28th. of May 1653. *Van Tromp* came into *Dover-Road* with a hundred stout Ships of War, and batter'd the Town a whole Day. The *English* Fleet commanded by *Dean* and *Monk*, *Blake* being gone in search of the *Dutch East-India* Ships, were on the Coast of *Holland*, when *Tromp* came before *Dover*. The two Admirals *Monk* and *Dean* were aboard the *Resolution*, and hearing the *Dutch* were on the Coast of *England*, they made after them. On the 2d. of June both Fleets came in sight of each other, and engag'd about Noon off the North *Foreland*. The Battel was hot and bloody till Night, one of the *Dutch* Admirals was blown up, and three or four of their largest Ships sunk. The *English* not losing a Ship, General *Dean* was kill'd by a Cannon Shot in the beginning of the Fight, which as soon

soon as *Monk* perceiv'd, he threw his Cloak over him, and commanded his Men to do their Duty. The next Day the Fleets re-engag'd, the Dispute lasted three Hours, and was very hot on both sides, from three in the Afternoon to six, when the *Dutch* bore away right before the Wind, and the *English* Frigats gave chase till Night, sinking six of the Enemy's best Ships, and blowing up two, eleven Ships and thirteen hundred Prisoners were taken, among whom were six Captains, and a vast Number slain. The *English* lost neither Ship nor Officer of Note, except General *Dean* and one Captain, a hundred and fifty common Soldiers were kill'd, and about twenty wounded. *Monk* pursu'd the *Dutch* to their Coasts, plying between the *Texel* and the *Ely*, to hinder Ships coming out, and joyning the Enemies Fleet at the *Weilings*, and to stop up their Trade and Fishing. *Cromwell* (who had now turn'd out the Parliament) and his Council of State, kept a Day of Thanksgiving for the late Victory over the *Dutch*, himself attending on the Corps of General *Dean*, which was brought from *Greenwich* to *Westminster* with a great deal of Ceremony, and there interr'd in the *Abbey-Church*. By the 18th. of *July*, the *Hollanders* had got ready a hundred and ten Men of War to drive the *English* from their Coasts: these on the 23d. ply'd two Leagues off

off the *Texel*. On the 25th. the *Dutch* Fleet consisting of 90 Men of War, besides Tenders and Fire-ships, came from the *Weilings*, and the *English* made what Sail they could after them, preparing for a Battel. On the 29th of July in the Morning, they descriy'd the *Dutch* Fleet divided into four Squadrons; the first commanded by *Van Tromp*; the second by Vice-Admiral *Evertzen*; the third by Rear-Admiral *Floris*, and the fourth by *Witte Wittensz*. *Monk* commanded the *English* in Chief, and under him were Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and Rear-Admiral *Larson*. As soon as the *Dutch* perceiv'd the *English* in a fighting Posture, the former tack'd about and stood off from them, by which means, 'twas five a Clock in the Evening before any of *Monk*'s Ships could come up to engage them, which they did, and forc'd the Enemy to halt. At seven, the Generals *Monk* and *Pen*, with about thirty Sail of Light Frigats began tho Battel, the rest of the *English* Fleet were a Stern and could not get up; however, the Fight continu'd between those few Frigats and the whole *Dutch* Fleet till nine a Clock, and then Night put an end to it. The next Day the Weather was foul, and both Fleets had as much as they could do to keep off shore. But on the 31st. of July, at seven in the Morning, 25 great Ships from the *Texel* joyn'd the Enemy, and a very hot Dispute began

began which lasted till one in the Afternoon; General *Monk* having found by Experience, that the taking of Ships oblig'd him to send other Ships off with them, he gave Orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter, which made the Battel very Fierce and Bloody. *Evertzen* and *Wittensz* attack'd the General's Ship, and often attempted to board her, but were always beaten off. *Evertzen's* Ship was sunk and himself taken Prisoner. *Van Tromp* had his Flag shot down in the Morning, and not long after as he stood on the Poop of his Ship with his Sword drawn in his Hand encouraging his Men, he was kill'd by a Cannon-Shot, which so dishearten'd the *Dutch*, that they immediately hoisted all their Sail, and bore away to the *Texel*. The *English* pursu'd them very little, *Monk* having paid dearly for his Victory; he had eight brave Captains slain, Capt. *Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Crisp*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen*, and *Chapman*, and as many wounded, four hundred Men were kill'd, and seven hundred wounded. Of the *Dutch* between two and three thousand slain, a thousand taken Prisoners, among these were Admiral *Evertzen*, and five Captains, thirty of their best Ships were sunk or taken. If our account of this and the following Battels differ from the Relations we have given of them in the Lives of *De Ruyter* and the younger *Tromp*,

we

we desire the Reader to observe, that when we wrote of *Dutch Admirals*, we follow'd *Dutch Authors*, and write after our own Accounts in the Lives of our *English Generals*.

*Oliver's* first Convention order'd Gold Chains to General *Monk*, Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and Rear-Admiral *Lawson*, who particularly signaliz'd themselves in the past Engagement at Sea. In December, General *Blake*, General *Monk*, Colonel *Desborough* and Admiral *Pen*, were made Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy by *Cromwell's* Parliament, who were assembled to resign the supream Authority into the Usuper's Hands. While these Intrigues were carry'd on at *White-Hall*, *Monk* stay'd aboard the Fleet, and was very little concern'd in the Revolution which had happen'd in the State. Henceforward, *Oliver* the Protector had the sole Management of Affairs, Civil and Military, till his Death. General *Monk* fell early in with *Cromwell*, was one of his Favourites, of his Cabinet-Council, and sent him up a congratulatory Address from the Fleet, on his Advancement to the Protectorate. 'Tis true, while the General was yet in *Scotland*, he and his Officers press'd the Dissolution of the Long-Parliament, to make room for the Protector; but *Monk* was in this wholly guided by *Cromwell*, who did not then discover his Intentions. The Convention were so well pleas'd with General *Monk* for his

Successes

Successes at Sea, that Oliver grew Jealous of their Favour to him, and closeted him, to sift out of him, whether he had any Design by courting them so much as he seem'd to do in his Letters and Submissions to that Parliament; *Monk* assur'd him he had no Interest in, nor Obligation to them. While the General was at *London*, there happen'd a Tumult at *White-Hall*, the Sea-men coming thither in a Body to demand their Share of the Prizes which *Monk* had promis'd them. He met them at *Charing-Cross*, and being offended with their Insolence, drew his Sword, and fell upon the fore-most; in the Scuffle he cut off a Man's Nose, and gave him ten Pounds in Satisfaction. The Mariners had so great a Veneration for him, that they fled from his Presence, and dar'd no more attempt to Petition in such Numbers, nor in such a manner. *Whitlock* gives another turn to this Accident, and says, the Protector's Guards dispers'd the Multitude, which seems most probable. *Cromwell* in pursuance of the Convention's Order, invited *Monk* to Dine with him, and himself put the Chain about his Neck, which they had presented him with. After this the General went aboard the Fleet, and cruis'd with the Winter Squadron in the Channel to scour those Seas of Privateers.

*Oliver*

*Oliver*, on his Accession to the Sovereignty, to secure an Interest abroad, concluded a Peace with the States of the United Provinces; and now General *Monk* was in hopes that he shou'd live in quiet, and enjoy the fruit of his Victories. But the War breaking out in the North of *Scotland*, *Cromwell* again pitch'd on him to command the Army there, to suppress the Insurrection of the Highlanders, and others in that Kingdom. The Lords *Glencarn*, *Athol*, *Seaforth*, *Nappier*, Sir *George Monroe*, and Major General *Dalziel*, were in Arms for the King there. General *Middleton* landed with Forces from *Holland*, and the Earl of *Glencarn* had in one Body Four thousand Men, whom *Oliver's* Officers were not likely to hinder joyning with *Middleton*, unless he sent them speedy assistance: *Monk*, by the Protectors order, hasten'd to take upon him the Command of the English Army in *Scotland*, and in April 1654. he arriv'd at *Leith*. While he staid at *Edinburgh*, Colonel *Morgan*, with what Troops he could get together in the North, came in sight of the Royalists, who were encamp'd on the other side of a Morass, which for want of Boats he could not pass to attack them. The General hearing *Morgan* had driv'n them to a Bay, prepar'd all things at *Edinburgh* necessary for his March, which he began the 14. of May, having first assisted at the Proclaiming *Oliver* Lord Protector

tector of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, in that City. While *Monk* was settling the Government there, *Middleton* receiv'd a new supply of Men, Arms, and Money, in two Ships from *Dunkirk*: but the *English* Army increas'd daily, and the King was so apprehensive of the weakness of the Royalists, that he wou'd not venture to put himself again at their Head, which they desir'd. *Middleton's* Brother, with five or six Officers were taken at *Musselborough*. The General commanded two of them to be hang'd for Spies, and the Inn to be burnt for harbouring them. In the beginning of *June* he surpriz'd a Party of the Royalists near *Douglas Castle*, and took twenty four Horses. In the mean time Colonel *Morgan* allarm'd them in the North, and took several Prisoners, some of whom he Hang'd or Shot, and the rest were sent to the *West-Indies*. When the General arriv'd near the Mountains, he summon'd the Enemies Garrison in *Lough Tay*, the Governour answer'd *He would keep it for the King to the last drop of his blood*. He thought the *English* cou'd never get over the Water to come at him, but perceiving they made a passage with Planks, he surrender'd on the Terms propos'd by the General; who left some other Garrisons of less Consequence behind him, and march'd forwards to fight the Royalists. The Earl of *Glencarn* being disgusted that *Middleton* was prefer'd to

him

him in the Command, went home with his Men, and laid down his Arms. By this Desertion the Royal Party was so weakned, that they were in no condition to make any considerable opposition to the progres of the *English*. Especially when Colonel Morgan had prevented the young Earl of Montross's joyning with Middleton. In July the General took Fosse and Loughgary in the Highlands, and built a Fort at Loughhaber. On the 20th. of the same month Morgan attack'd Middleton's Body of Horse in their Quarters near Loughgary, after a slight Skirmish the Royalists ran, quitted their Horses and dispers'd. Middleton was himself wounded, and with the rest forc'd to fly to the Bogs : his Horse, and three hundred of his Troopers were taken. Most of the Highlanders had been cut off, if the Night and the Bog had not sav'd them. Twelve hundred of Middleton's Foot, who were five Miles off, went every Man to his Home on the news that their Horse were routed. Of the *English* only four Men were wounded, and none kill'd. Middleton, after his defeat, went North and South, and Monk after him, till his Followers were diminish'd to less than one hundred Men, he then order'd Colonel Morgan to pursue him, and himself march'd to waste the Lands of the Earl of Glencarn, who offer'd to submit to the Government on terms which Monk wou'd not grant. The

General destroy'd the Country in Glencarlon's Bounds for rising on the English, of whom they murther'd sixty in cold blood.

He continu'd his pursuit of the Highlanders as far as Brawling, where never Army was known to march before. Morgan follow'd Middleton, and the Earl of Glencarn's Vassals were glad to purchase their Peace by submitting to the General's terms. Middleton fled to the Hills, and Monk march'd after him, which put him on a necessity to yield, or fly beyond Sea. He got aboard Ship with some other Officers, intending to go to France, but the Wind did not serve them, and being afraid of the English Cruisers they landed again, and resolv'd to tempt their Fortune once more. Middleton had about forty Horse with him, and rang'd up and down Argyleshire. Five hundred men from Ireland joyn'd him in that County, and the Earl of Seaforth brought him one hundred and sixty Horse; but the Earls of Glencarn and Montross having been forc'd to yield up their Arms to Monk, the Marquess of Athol did the same, and Middleton being abandon'd by the Heads of the Party, took hold of the first opportunity, and sail'd to France. The General oblig'd Cromwell sensibly by quieting the Troubles in the North of Scotland, and in return the Protector settled on him a considerable Estate out of the Forfeitures in Ireland. Monk retir'd to

Dalkeith

Dalkeith a stately Palace four Miles from Edinburgh, the Seat of the Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleugh, where he past his time in the Diversions and Exercises of the Country, till Richard Cromwell, Oliver's Son and Successor in the Protectorate, was Depos'd. During his abode at Dalkeith he lost his eldest Son George, whom he dearly lov'd. He had marry'd a Woman of mean Circumstances and Quality, in the year 1648. and by her had this his darling Son.

The 22. of January 1654. Oliver's second Parliament met, and in his Speech to them, he tells them, There was a design on Foot to seize General Monk, whom he call'd a faithful Honest Man, and put another at the Head of the Army in Scotland, to turn out the Protector, and restore the Rump. The General seiz'd Colonel Overton for this Conspiracy, and sent him into England. We find nothing of moment done by him from his Retirement at Dalkeith to the year 1658. He was summon'd to sit in the Protector's House of Peers, with several Lords and Gentlemen, and Officers in the Army. He sent up a very Loyal Address from that which he commanded in Scotland, to Cromwell, which he receiv'd very graciously the 19th. of March 1657.

The 3d. of September 1658, the Protector dy'd at Hampton Court, and his Son Richard, as he had in his life time

appointed, was Proclaim'd Lord Protector in London and Westminster. The Proclamation being sign'd by his Fathers Council, and among the rest by General *Mon-tague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandrich*, who joyn'd with *Monk* in the Restauration of King *Charles II*. *Richard* sent Dr. *Thomas Clarges* to *Scotland*, with Letters to the General, informing him of his Succession in the Protectorate, and desiring his advice how to behave himself in the management of Affairs. *Clarges* was related to *Monk* by his Marriage, and had by his Interest got to be Agent for the Armies in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, a Place of good Profit. He was a Member of *Oliver's Parliament* in the year 1656. and struck in with the Common-Wealth Party, which wou'd have hinder'd his Advancement, had not his Brother-in-Law, General *Monk*, supported and protected him. The General and his Officers, return'd the New Protector an Address of *Lives and Fortunes*, and *Monk* advis'd him to call a Parliament, which he did. Mr. *Challoner Chure* a Lawyer, and a Man of Learning, great Parts, and Eloquence, was chosen their Speaker. They past an Act for Recognizing *Richard*; but his good Fortune did not last long : For in April 1659, *Fleetwood* and *Des-borough*, and the Officers of the Army, who met at *Wallingford-House*, to consider of the State of the Nation, publish'd a Declaration inviting

viting the Members of the Long-Parliament, that continu'd sitting till the 20th. of April, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust. *Richard* betray'd by ill Counsellors dissolv'd his Parliament which put the suprem Power in the hands of the Army, that was commanded by Officers, who were either Common-Wealths-Men, or would themselves be in his place. The Old Members return'd to their House with their Speaker *Lenthall*, the 17th. of May 1659. And there voted out *Richard* from a Post he was little able to keep. For had he had his Father's Spirit and Genius, it would not have been easie for the Army to have depos'd him as they did the 21st. of May following, and the 25th. *Richard* resign'd the Government to the Parliament.

*Monk* had solemnly proclaim'd the new Protector at *Edinburgh*, and imprison'd several Noblemen and Gentlemen for refusing to sign rhe Abjuration of the Royal-Family; but when he heard from Dr. *Clarges*, that the Officers had restor'd the *Rump*, he wrote to *Fleetwood*, that he entirely agreed to what was done by the Army in *England*; and that he was for a Common-Wealth without a King, a Single Person, or House of Lords; and formally renounc'd the Family of the *Stuarts*. As appears by his letter to the Parliament, in *Whit-*

locks Memoirs, wherein he recommends Richard and his Mother to their Favour, by providing honourably for them. Some other accounts inform us, that upon the Deposition of Richard, Dr. Clarges in his Journey to Scotland, endeavour'd to perswade the General, to restore the *Ancient Government* of this Kingdom ; to which he found his Brother very well dispos'd, and Monk trying his Officers Inclinations, perceiv'd they were so prepossest in favour of the Rump, that he dar'd not oppose their Proceedings. We cannot believe his design to bring in the King was so early as this, for certainly if it was, he would not have religiously declar'd, that he renounc'd the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the Late King James, and of every other Person, as a Single Person, pretending to the Government of these Nations, &c. And that he would by the Grace of God, be true, faithful, and constant to this Commonwealth, against any King, Single Person, and House of Peers ; and every of them, &c. He and all his Officers sign'd this Engagement, and submitted to the Parliaments Authority ; who set up a new Council of State, and Fleetwood was voted Lieutenant-General. As also, that all Commissions for the Officers of the Army, should be sign'd by the Speaker ; which disgusted them very much. They appointed Commissioners, General

General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Ludlow*, and Colonel *Berry*; to model the Army and Navy. Colonel *Peirson* and Colonel *Mason*, Two of General *Monk's* Officers, and zealous Republicans, undertook to know his Army so well, that their Information was much credited, in the settling of it. And to weaken *Monk's* Power, the Commissioners design'd to remove those he most trusted, of which the General having notice he wrote a Letter to the House, complaining of their Intentions to displace some of his Officers, for whose fidelity and behaviour he would be engag'd. They order'd the Commissioners to put a stop to their modelling the Army in *Scotland*, till the General was consulted in it. The Kings Agents were not idle, but carry'd on their endeavours for a general Insurrection with good Success. But Sir *George Booth* appearing in Arms, before the rest of the Kings Commissioners were prepar'd to assist him, Colonel *Lambert* easily supprest his Insurrection; which Service he thought was so considerable, that he might pretend to any Reward for't, and began to think of seating himself in *Cromwell's* Chair.

About this time, Sir *John Greenville*, a most active Servant of King *Charles the Second*, (to ingratiate himself with General *Monk*)

*Monk*) presented his Brother Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Minister, with the rich Bene-fice of *Kill-hampton*, in *Cornwall*; and engag'd him heartily in his Royal Master's Cause. Mr. *Monk* took a Journey to *Scot-land*, to persuade his Brother the General, to follow his example, having first receiv'd his Instructions, what he should say to him, from Sir *John Greenville* at *London*. While these secret Negotiations were on foot, the Officers of the Army presented several Petitions offensive to the Rump; who discharg'd *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and other Officers, from their Service, appointing Colonel *Ludlow*, General *Monk*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Colonel *Walton*, Colonel *Morly*, and Colonel *Overton*, to be Com-missioners, to govern all the Forces; which so highly provok'd *Lambert* and his dis-banded Officers, that they plac'd Guards in the Streets, and possest themselves of *Westminster-Hall*, to prevent the Members entring the House; and us'd violence to such as offer'd it. General *Monk* wrote to *Fleetwood*, his Dissatisfaction with the Proceedings of the English Army. And *Haslerig*, and the Republicans depended on him, to be their Champion. The ge-neral Council of Officers, appointed a Com-mittee of Safety; and the Rump were once more outed of their Government. *Fleet-wood* to appease *Monk*, sent several Persons

to

to acquaint him with the Reasons of their Proceedings. With these went Mr. *Carryl*, and Mr. *Barker*, Two Ministers, to persuade him to a right understanding of things; and prevent the Effusion of Blood. These could not prevail in their Apostolick Mission. For the General had lately receiv'd a signal Affront, from the Council of Officers of *Wallingford-House*; who suspecting his Fidelity, had declar'd that *Lambert* should command in *Scotland*. *Monk* openly profest his Dislike of the Force put upon the Parliament, and resolv'd to restore them once more to their Seats and Authority. As soon as the General came to a resolution to march into *England* with his Army, he imprison'd such of his Officers as were of another Opinion; and turnd others out of their Commands. *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and *Desborough*, sent for Dr. *Clarges* to attend them; and order'd him to go to *Scotland*, and endeavour to mediate a Peace between *Monk* and the Officers of the Army in *England*. The Lieutenancy of *London* wrote to him, as did also Sir *Richard Stainer*, Sir *Richard Haddock*, and the Officers of the Fleet, to incline him to an Accommodation. And *Lambert* march'd Northward, with a good Body of the *English* Army to oppose him, the Report spreading that he was enter'd *England*. The general Council of Officers receiv'd

receiv'd Letters from him full of Remonstrances in behalf of the Rump; *Whitlock, Fleetwood, Desborough*, and many other Principal Officers, went to the Common-Council of London, and represented to them that *Monks* Design was to bring in the King upon a new Civil-War, and advis'd them to provide for their Safety, and the Preservation of Peace. The Citizens thank'd them, and said they resolv'd to follow their advice. The Officers in Ireland wrote to *Monk* recommending the Publick Peace to him, and an Accommodation with the Army in England. The General seem'd inclinable to it, and Commissioners were appointed by *Fleetwood* to treat; *Monks* Commissioners met *Lambert* at York, and so far persuaded him that their General's Intentions were for Peace, that he sent Orders to stop the Forces which were marching to joyn him. Yet severall Members of the Committee of Safety, suspecting *Monks* Sincerity, mov'd that orders might be sent to *Lambert* to march forward to attack him before he could enter the Kingdom. Had these Orders been obey'd, we cannot but observe that *Monks* Projects to restore the King, were either not laid so soon as is pretended, or were the Effects of desperate Councils, for what Likelihood had he with 5000 Men the worst Part of *Cromwell's* Forces, to master the Victorious Army in England

*England*, of 20000 Regular Troops, who had they not been afterwards divided in their Interests, would very easily have driven him back to the *High-Lands of Scotland*. The Truth is, 'twas the Parliaments Name and Authority that gave him Opportunity to march his Army to *London*. And the People of *England* were so weary of the late Anarchy and Usurpation, that they long'd heartily to return to the Obedience of their rightful Sovereign, and when *Monk* found out their disposition, he then began to form the Plan of the great Revolution, which was brought about under his Auspices. King *Charles* had so little dependance on him, that by his Friends in *England*, he apply'd first to *Richard Cromwell* when he was Protector, and while *Monk* was on the Borders of *Scotland*; the Lord *Hatton* offer'd *Lambert* in the Kings Name, the same Possessions, Honours, and Dignities, which were propos'd to the abdicated Protector; if he would espouse the Royal Cause. But as Sir *Roger Manly* remarks, this Advice was in vain, to a Person blinded with Ambition, and the frantick Desire of Rule. So little account did the Royalists even now make of General *Monk* and his Interest, that the Lord *Willoughby*, Alderman *Robinson*, and others of the Kings Agents, after *Monk* was arriv'd in *Torkshire*, courted *Fleetwood* to submit to the King, and be the

Instruc-

Instrument of his Restauration, that he might have what terms he pleas'd to pre-serve himself and Friends; whereas if the busines were left to *Monk*, himself and his Friends wou'd be in danger of destruction. *Fleetwood* took time to consider of it, and in the mean while *Monk* advancing under the notion of defending the *Rump*, the *English Army* deceiv'd by his pretences, deserted to him by whole Regiments at a time, little mi-strusting his Intentions, though 'tis much to be question'd whether he had yet any other than what he publickly profest. *Monk's Commissioners*, and the Commissioners of the Council of Officers, came to an Agree-ment, that a General Council shou'd meet to advise touching the Form of Governient to be settled, and resolv'd on both sides to exclude a Single Person and the House of Peers. The General disown'd his Commissi-  
ons, and wou'd not be determin'd by their Resolutions. Being very ill satisfy'd that *Fleetwood* was made Commander in Chief of all the Forces, and *Lambert Major General* of *England* and *Scotland*, which news came to him at the same time that his Brother brought him Sir *John Greenvil's Letters*, one from the King to the General, and another from his Majesty to *Greenville*, impowring him to Treat with *Monk*, and not only to Assure him of his Kindness, but that he will Liberally reward him with such an Estate in Land,

Land, and such a Title of Honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for him; and to the General the King wrote thus.

Sir, I cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do, and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your Country, and your self, that I cannot think you will decline my Interest. The Person who gives, or sends this to you, hath Authority to say much to you from me, and if you once resolve to take my Interest to Heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely to your own Judgment, and will comply with the advice you shall give me. The rest I refer to the Person who conveys this to you, and it is in your power to make me as Kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always your affectionate Friend, Charles R. These Fair and Honourable Offers, meeting the General at the time when he was justly offended with the Governors at London, for putting *Lambert* over his Head, had the Success His Majesty desir'd, and though he gave very ambiguous Answers to his Brother; yet from that time all his Actions tended to the Kings happy Restauration, concealing his more noble Designs, with his Zeal for the Service of the *Rump*, whom *Lambert* and *Fleetwood* had disbanded. The Committee of Safety had some information of *Monks* Resolutions, and resolv'd to secure his Person. They therefore dispatch'd secret Orders to Scotland

land by the ordinary Packet, lest an Express might give Suspicion, and instead of directing it as usual for *Dalkeith*, it was order'd strait for *Edinburgh*. By chance one of the Generals Life-Guards met the Post turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkeith*, and finding he had not touch'd there, brought him back to *Monk*, though the Mail was otherwise directed. *Monk* mistrusting something, open'd all the Letters directed to the Officers of the Army, among which there was one from the Committee of Safety to Colonel *Wilks*, ordering him to use the most effectual, speedy, and secret way to secure the Person of General *Monk*, and to send him up to *London* under a strong Guard, in a Frigat that lay in *Leith* Road, and then to take upon him the Command of the Army. Upon which discovery he made a Review of his Troops, arrested and imprison'd Colonel *Wilks*, and by the help of Colonel *Morgan*, who had render'd himself famous at the Siege of *Dunkirk*, modell'd his Army as he thought fit; turn'd out the *Sectarian* Officers, and put in others who were better inclin'd to Monarchy. On the 18th. of October, he muster'd his own Regiment, and Colonel *Morgans*, in the High Street of *Edinburgh*; from thence he march'd to the *Grey Friers* Church, where he told his Officers, *He was resolv'd to make*

the

the Military Power subservient to the Civil, and that since they had Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament; it was their duty to serve and obey them against all opposition. The Officers and Soldiers unanimously declar'd they wou'd live and dye with him. He then commanded Captain *Witter* to St. *Johnstone*, Captain *Robson* to *Ayre*, and Major *Hughes* to *Leith*, to secure those Citadels, which they perform'd without any opposition, and Captain *Johnson* with a Troop of Horse took possession of *Berwick* in the Generals name. He summon'd a Convention in *Scotland*; who gave him a large sum of Money, with the Excise to carry on his designs: to these he committed the care of that Kingdom. One of his Chaplains, Mr. *Collins*, left him, and several Officers did the same, when they began to discern the Drift of his Intentions, only Doctor *Gamble*, his other Chaplain stood firm, and resolv'd to embark on the same bottom with his Master. The Committee of Safety still tyranniz'd at *London*, to the general Discontent of the Citizens. To increase their Dissatisfaction, *Monk* wrote to the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council the 12. of November, inciting them to use their Endeavours in conjunction with him to restore Parliaments to their former Freedom and Authority. Which Letter so incenſ'd the Committee of Safety, that Colonel *Markham* and Mr. *Atkins* were

taken into Custody for delivering it. On the 19th. of November, nine of the late Council of State, who were dissolv'd with the Parliament, met privately in the City, and wrote a Letter to the General, which was sign'd by *Thomas Scot*, President, Colonel *Morley*, Colonel *Reinolds*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Nevil*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, Colonel *Walton*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and Mr. *Berners*. They encourag'd him to go on with promoting the *Good Cause*, and promis'd to stand by him. There happen'd a division between *Fleetwood* and the City; his Soldiers were affronted by the Apprentices, and Colonel *Hewson* was sent into the City to appease several Tumults there, which the Citizens took very ill, and 'twas reported that *Hewson's* Soldiers came to plunder them. *Fleetwood* finding he cou'd no longer maintain himself in his Authority, sent to the Speaker, and desir'd him to return with the rest of the Members of Parliament to the Exercise of their Trust and Power. *Montague* and *Lawson*, with the Fleet, having declar'd for General *Monk* and the Parliament, the Lord *Broghill*, Sir *Theophilus Jones*, and other Chief Officers in *Ireland*, had seiz'd *Dublin*, and made the same Declaration. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, rose with the same Design, and indeed all *England* weary of the Confusion of Richards

Richard's Usurpation, and of Fleetwood's and Lambert's Military Government, were for the Admission of the secluded Members, and a free Parliament.

On the 24th. of December, several Members of the Long Parliament met at the Speakers House, and order'd Colonel Okey, Colonel Markham, Colonel Alured, and Colonel Moss, to draw up their Regiments in Lincolns-Inn-Fields, which they did, and their Men declar'd they wou'd live and dye with the Parliament. The Colonels march'd them down Chancery-Lane, and halted at the Rolls till the Speaker came, who thank'd them for their Affection to the House, and then dimist them to their Quarters about Westminster, having first giv'n them the Word. On the 26th. the Speaker and the Members met at White-Hall, and thence walkt to the Parliament-House, and sat to do Business. They confirm'd all that General Monk had done, and wrote to him to come up to London as speedily as he cou'd. The General sent them an account how he had prevaricated with Fleetwood for their Service, and was marching to confirm them in their Sovereign Power. Being arriv'd at Berwick, Colonel Sanchy came from Lambert, who was at Newcastle, to press him to confirm the Treaty, which he put off to delay time; and knowing Sanchy to be a hot Man he secur'd him. He took up

his Quarters at *Coldstream*, a Pass on the *Tweed*, where he staid six Weeks, expecting some Counties wou'd declare for him, and to discover the Bent of the Nation, which to his great joy he found generally to agree with his designs. *Lambert* insisting on the Performance of the Treaty withdrew his Forces, and *Monk* flatter'd him with hopes of a new Accommodation at *Newcastle*, till he heard how happily things went forward in the South, and that the Lord *Fairfax*, and all *Yorkshire* had resolv'd to stand for the Admission of the Secluded Members, which he knew wou'd be follow'd by a Free-Parliament; yet he outwardly pretended to no more than defending the *Rump* from the Violence of the Army. While he lay at *Coldstream*, Colonel *Morley*, Colonel *Walton*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, had *Portsmouth* surrendred to them for the Parliament, by Colonel *Whetham* the Governour. *Morley* was brought off to the King's Interest by the learned Mr. *Evelyn* of *Deptford*, and very early fell in with *Monk*, and secur'd the Tower of *London*. *Lambert* sent Letters of Submission to the Parliament, but they confin'd him to his House farthest off from *London*. The same Orders were sent to *Desborough*, *Corbet*, and *Kelsey*. *Monk*'s staying so long at *Coldstream*, gave the name of the Place to his Army, who were call'd *Coldstreamers*, and from thence the Second Regiment of Guards.

Guards, Commanded by the Lord *Cutts*, are so call'd to this day. *Lambert* hearing of the change of Affairs at *London*, retir'd privately, and on the 7th. of *January*, General *Monk* broke up from *Coldstream*, and advanc'd with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, to *Wooler*. The same day Colonel *Knight* took Possession of *Newcastle*, which *Lambert* had left. At *Morpeth* the General was complemented by Mr. *Man*, Sword-Bearer of *London*, in the name of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, his Masters. The Garisons of *Carlisle* and *Tinmouth* secur'd their Officers, and deliver'd up those places to him, and *Lamberts* and *Lilburns* Regiments submitted. The former he gave to Colonel *Bethel*, and the latter to Colonel *Smithson*. In his March to *York* he was met by Colonel *Waters*, High-Sheriff, and the Gentlemen of the County, and at *York* the Lord *Fairfax*, who was very Instrumental in his Majesty's Restaurati-on, visited him, and gave him some Cautions, lest he shou'd proceed in it too fast; which the General's own Warineſ\$ render'd useless. From hence he sent Mr. *Gamble*, his Chaplain, to the Parliament, with Letters full of Expressions of Fidelity and Obedience, they rewarded the Messenger with a hundred Pound, and recommended him to a Fellowship of *Eton College*. Mr. *Gamble* afterwards commenc'd Doctor of Divinity,

and wrote his Master General *Monk's Life*, so full of Flattery and Falshood, that we have had very little Helps from him. At *Tork* the General finding the Work he was about woud not be so difficult as he at first apprehended, sent Colonel *Clark's Regiment of Foot*, and Major General *Morgan's Regiment of Horse* back into *Scotland*, which with those he left in Garrison there, he thought were a sufficient Strength to preserve Peace in that Kingdom, and having left Colonel *Fairfax* with his Regiment in Garrison at *Tork*, he march'd towards *Nottingham*, his whole Forces consisting of his own

*General Monk's Regiment of — 1000 Foot.*

*Colonel Read's* — 1000

*Colonel Lydcot's* — 1000

*Colonel Hubblethorn's* — 1000

4000 Foot.

*General Monk's Regiment of — 600 Horse.*

*Colonel Knight's* — 600

*Colonel Clobery's* — 600

1800 Horse.

A small Army, but very well modell'd, whereas the Regiments of the English Army about *London* were divided, the Officers not daring

daring to trust their Soldiers, nor the Soldiers their Officers. The Parliament order'd two of their Members, Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson* to meet the General, and Congratulate his good Success, and his Approach towards *London*; also to let him know the House wou'd provide Money for his Forces. The City sent three of their Members on the same Errand. The General wrote to Colonel *Overton*, Governor of *Hull*, to adhere to the Parliament, to which *Overton* return'd an Answer declaring against the Secluded Members, and a single Person. On the 19th. General *Monk* arriv'd at *Nottingham*, and on the 20th. *Scot* and *Robinson* came to *Leicester*. The next day was *Sunday*, so the two Members rested at *Leicester*, and on *Monday* the General drew up his Forces between that Town and *Nottingham* to receive them, he alighted from his Horse to salute Mr. *Scot* and his Companion, and the whole Army welcom'd them with several Volleys of Shot. There were still at *London* Ten thousand Men of the old Army. Colonel *Okey's*, Colonel *Rich*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, and Colonel *Deshborough's* Regiments of Horse. Colonel *Ayres*, Colonel *Markhams*, Colonel *Streater*, Colonel *Fitch*, Colonel *Moss*, Colonel *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Morley*, and Colonel *Faggs* Regiments of Foot; who were enough to dash all the General's Designs to pieces, unless he cou'd

get them to his Interest, or divide them. Colonel Desborough's Regiment of Horse was giv'n to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had embrac'd the Royal Cause, the same had Colonel Morley and Colonel Fagge done; but the other Troops cou'd not be confided in. The General wrote therefore to the Parliament, that they wou'd command the Forces about London to distant Quarters, to make room for his Forces, their *Approved Faithful Regiments*. To which the House consented, and Mr. Scot, and Mr. Robinson, had Orders to consult with the General about assigning the Regiments their Quarters; and they distributed them by single Troops, some forty, fifty, and some one hundred Miles from London. But Monk's were all to be quarter'd in and about London, for Guards to the Parliament. The 25th. of January 1659. he was made *Custos Rotulorum* of Devon, on the account giv'n of him by Robinson and Scot, That he was wonderfully respectful to the Parliament, and civil to their Commissioners. The Rump were Jealous of Lambert, and order'd him to be confin'd at Holmby. At Harborough Alderman Fowkes, Alderman Vincent, and Mr. Bromfield, the City Commissioners, made their Complement to Monk. Mr. Bromfield in his Speech desir'd the Parliament might be *Full and Free*, which highly offended Scot and Robinson, and the General seeming to favour the Letter, the Citizens retir'd in Discontent.

content, till Monk inform'd them by a private Messenger, that he was compell'd to temporize a little, till he had a better opportunity to discover his Intentions, which were the same with their Wishes. At *Northampton*, Sir *John Norris*, and one hundred Gentlemen of *Buckinghamshire* and *Oxfordshire*, presented him with an Address, desiring him to be Instrumental for the Admission of the Secluded Members, or for a Free Parliament, to whom he answer'd, *That he was but a Servant to the Parliament, and these things of Great and Civil Concernment were to be left with them.* Several Addresses were presented to him before this, and after to the same effect, and he return'd a like Answer. *Larson*, and the Officers of the Fleet waited on him when he came to *St. Albans*. The 30th. of *January*, the House agreed that his Forces shou'd be quarter'd as he propos'd, and order'd Money for them. The same day Dr. *Clarges* was made Commissary-General of the Musters, and *Monk* himself Keeper of *St. James's Park*. At *Barnet* the Resort to him was extraordinary, and his Body of Troops being the most considerable that now were together in *England*, he was courted by all Persons that hop'd to make their Fortunes by a Revolution, or were for securing his Protection against the Danger that threatned them for their past Crimes. Every one saw now that the

Rumps

Rump's Authority would be of short Duration, and all the Eyes of the Nation were turn'd on the General, to observe which Way he inclin'd. Here a Nephew of the famous Marechal *de Turenne* visited him, whom he entertain'd with a great deal of Honour and Distinction.

On the Second of February, he march'd his Army from *Barnet* to *London*; he enter'd by *Grays-Inn-Lane*, and from thence down *Chancery-Lane*, and so through *Temple-Bar*, along the *Strand* to *Whitehal*. The three Regiments of Horse march'd first, himself at the Head of them gallantly mounted, his Trumpets rode richly clad before him, several led Horses behind and Persons of Quality after him. The Foot clos'd up the Rear: The General met no Opposition, only Colonel *Lenthall*'s Regiment, part of the Army that were to remove to Country-Quarters, would not leave *Somerset-House*, till the *Rump* sent them a Month's Pay beforehand, and then they made Room for Colonel *Reads* Regiment, who were to succeed them in that Place. The Speaker met *Monk* in the *Strand*, the General alighted; and the Speaker came out of his Coach, they embrac'd with great shew of Kindness and Friendship, and then *Monk* rode forward to *Whitehall*, where an Apartment was prepar'd for him. *Mr. Gamble* takes Notice, that the People did

did not express their Joy by Shouts, as usual on these Occasions, and that their Welcome was but very indifferent ; which might be on several Accounts, For those who were not for the *Rump*, were not yet for the King, and the Jealousie they had of his intending to restore Monarchy, hinder'd their Acclamations. The Royalists were not sure of him, and they had no reason to rejoice till they could depend on his Loyalty. For as it was in his power to bring in the King, so it was also in his power to keep him out, which he had not yet declar'd against. In the Evening, the new Council of State visited him, and he being a Member of that Council, sat with them. The next Day was spent in Visits from the Parliament-Men and others of the highest Quality. He was order'd to attend on the House Monday the 6th. of February, to receive their Sence in Relation to his signal and faithful Services. At the Hour appointed, Mr. Scot, and Mr. Robinson, who were to accompany him, brought him to the Court of Wards, and Scot reported that the General attended there, on which the Serjeant at Arms was sent for him, Scot and Robinson introduc'd him into the House, where, after he had made his Obeisance, a Velvet Chair was set for him within the Bar on the Left-Hand ; the Speaker desir'd him to sit down,

down, but he pray'd to be excus'd, and stood behind the Chair, while the Speaker made a Speech to him magnifying his Service and Merits, and giving him the hearty Thanks of the House. Monk answer'd him, *Extolling the Mercy of their Restitution, and acknowledging the Goodness of God to him, in making him Instrumental therein, which was no more than his Duty, and deserved not the Honour they had done him.* He told them of the many Addresses to him in his March for a free and full Parliament, and that this Parliament would determine their fitting. That as to the secluded Members, he reply'd to them, *this Parliament had already given their judgment in which all ought to acquiesce, and that no Parliament had admitted new Members to sit without a previous Oath or Engagement,* and he now says it to the Parliament, that the less Oaths and Engagements are imposed, the Settlement will be the sooner obtain'd, and hop'd they would be carefull that neither the Cavaleers, nor Phanatick Party, have yet a share in the Civil or Military Power; then he spoke of Ireland and Scotland, who fear'd nothing more than to be over-run with Phanatick Notions. Some of the Members of the Rump were troubled and confounded with Part of his Speech, and began to entertain Suspicions of his Fidelity to them, which they could never conquer. The 9th. of February, the Council

Council of State finding the City generally inclin'd to the bringing in of the King, or to have a free Parliament for that End, and suspecting they might disown their Authority and set up for themselves ; they made some Resolutions which were reported to the Parliament, and approved by them.

*Resolv'd, That the Commissioners of the Army appoint Forces to preserve the Peace of the City, to take away the Post and Chains, and to destroy the Gates; also to seize such Officers as have not confin'd themselves according to former Order.*

The House commanded Monk to put their Votes in Execution. The General was not at all satisfi'd to have his Power controul'd by the Commissioners of the Army, who were Colonel Alexander Popham, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Scot, Colonel Okey, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Colonel Alured, and Colonel Markham. The Parliament at first directed their Order to these Commissioners, without taking notice of him, till he was forc'd to write to them of their omitting his Name in their Order, which he a while hesitated about Executing. But his Friends, who were acquainted with his Designs, advis'd him not yet to venture to disobey the Power he came to protect. In obedience to the Order, he pull'd down the Portcullices and Gates, and took away the City Posts and Chains, the Spectators admiring at his Actions, but none dar'd oppose him. When he was blam'd

for

for it by some who thought he was out in his Politicks to offend the Citizens, he told them twou'd be of Service, by rendering the *Rump* odious. Alderman *Bloodworth*, Mr. *Richard Ford*, and seven more Principal Citizens were imprison'd. The Parliament dissolv'd the Common-Council, and *Monk* march'd with his Army into the City, to keep all things quiet. While he was at his Quarters, many of the Principal Citizens, and some of the Secluded Members waited on him to try what they cou'd bring him to; but he was still shy, and wou'd give them no Encouragement to hope for their Admission. The Lord-Mayor comply'd with the Times, and the House thank'd him for his Prudent Carriage in the Business. The next day a Bill was brought in to appoint new Commissioners for the Government of the Army. *Monk*, *Haslerigge*, *Watson*, *Morley*, and *Alured*. Twas observ'd that the General express great Indignation at this Act, and was extreamly disappointed in his Expectations. He had done so much for the *Rump*, he thought they cou'd do no less in Gratitude than give him the sole Command of their Forces. And the King's Friends perceiving he was out of humour, prest him to proceed towards a Settlement. He and his Officers wrote to the Parliament to fill up the House, which was the first step taken towards the Restauration. The *Rump* order'd

order'd Scot and Robinson to carry back their Answer, That they were upon the Qualifications of Members. Scot was employ'd in all their Messages to the General, and boasted of his Intimacy and Favour with him. Monk not satisfi'd with the little Difference shewn to his Desires by the Parliament, resolv'd to apply himself to the City ; and to gain their Opinion, he restor'd the Common-Council which the Rump had lately dissolv'd. The 12th. of February he drew up his Army in Finsbury, before the Lord-Mayor, with whom he din'd, and took up his Quarters at the Glass-House in Broad-street, multitudes of People following him, and congratulating his Coming into the City, with Shouts, Bone-fires, and Ringing of Bells. On the 15th. he remov'd to Alderman Wales, where he held secret and frequent Consultations, with the chief Citizens, the Clergy, and others well affected to Monarchy. Here also some Sitting Members, the Lord Chief Justice St. John, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Colonel Morley, Colonel Thompson, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Mr. Weav-<sup>es</sup>, Mr. White, Mr. Fielder, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Rauleigh met, with some of the Secluded Members, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Evelyn, Sir John Holland, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Colonel Popham, Mr. Annesly, Mr. Knightly, Mr. Crew, Mr. Trever, Colonel Harley, Colonel Norton, Sir John Temple, and Colonel Birch ;

Birch; where a Conference was held, which ended in a Resolution to admit the Secluded Members to their Seats in Parliament. The Presbyterians joyning heartily with the Couriers, having themselves suffer'd very much from the Sectaries. *Scot* and *Robinson*, when they saw how matters went, endeavour'd to dissuade the General from encouraging their Admission, but *Monk* wou'd have it so, and here the Great and Happy Turn began.

*H. B.* The 21. of February the Secluded Members came into the House, and several of the Old Members absented themselves, those that stay'd joyn'd with those that were admitted, and vacated all that had been done in their Absence, particularly in 1648. and 1649. This Parliament presently Voted *Monk* to be General of all the Forces in England, Scotland and Ireland; but joyn'd *Montague* in Commission with him to command at Sea, and made *Lawson* Vice-Admiral. The General put forth a Letter, which he address'd to all the Regiments in England, to acquaint them with what he had done, to persuade them to comply, shewing the Reasons he had to procure the Admission of the Secluded Members, In order to a Legal Dissolution of the Parliament by their own free consent, and requiring, If any disaffected Persons shou'd take occasion to disturb the Peace of the Common-Wealth;

Wealth, either in favour of Charles Stuart, or any other pretended Authority, they shou'd secure them. This Letter bears date the same day with the Admission of the Members, and seems to be intended to cajole the Army that was Quarter'd in other parts of England, who were not so well prepar'd to relish the projected Revolution as that which came from Scotland. From Alderman Wales's the General remov'd to St. James's. Scot was turn'd out of the Secretaries Place, and a Bill brought in to dissolve the Parliament. The City advanc'd the Money which the House had order'd for the Army about London. Thirloe, Oliver's Secretary succeeded Scot in the Secretaries Office, and Dr. Clarges, had the Hamper Office giv'n him to please the General, who was Courted, Feast-ed, and Applauded for his Share in the Change, which was to every ones Satisfaction, except the Regicides, and their Confederates. For the glory of his new Dignity of General of the Armies of the three Kingdoms, he form'd a Company of two hundred Gentlemen for his Guards, and Scot, and the Enemies of Kingly Governdment perceiving they must have a Single Person, tempted him to take the Sovereign Authority on himself, but he rejected it as unlawful and desperate Counsel. Indeed now the Parliament was full, and compos'd of the wisest, and most experienc'd Men of the

Age. 'Twas impossible to impose any Single Person on them whose only right was the Power of the Sword, and whose merit was his Fortune. *Monk* had a great deal of Personal Bravery, and was naturally close and reserv'd; but his Genius did not seem turn'd to Civil Affairs, and he knew his own Interest better that to sacrifice the hopes he had of raising himself to the highest Honours under his lawful Sovereign, to a vain Project of a short Usurpation. Sir Roger *Mainly* writes that Monsieur *Bourdeaux* the French Ambassador offer'd the General his Masters Assistance, if he wou'd take the Government on him, which agrees with the Character that Minister gave him after the Visit he made him the 24th. of *March*, that he was neither a *Courtier* nor *States Man*. And we do not doubt but the *French* would at any time be very willing to set such a Person at our Helm. *Monk* having gone so far in the Work he had engag'd in, sent for Mr. *Morrice* out of *Devonshire* to assist him with his Counsels, and 'tis to this Gentleman's Wisdom, and to Sir *John Greenvil's* indefatigable Zeal for his Majesties Interest, that these Nations in a great measure owe the Restauration of the Royal Family. Mr. *Morrice* was one of the Secluded Members, and when the King return'd he was made Secretary of State. The General gave the Government of *Jersey* to Mr. *Carew Rawleigh*,

leigh, and that of *Hull* to Colonel *Fairfax*. Colonel *Overton* having giv'n Reason of Distrust by a bold Letter he sent to *Monk* to remind him of his many Declarations to be faithful to the Common-Wealth. The best way he cou'd shew his Fidelity to her, was that he took, to restore her Constitution, and recover it from the Tyranny and incroachments made upon her by Usurpers and *Enthusiasts*. *Lambert* was committed to the Tower, Sir Peter *Killiegrew* was made Governour of *Pendennis Castle*, and Mr. *Morrice* Governor of *Plimouth*. He gave Colonel *Carter* a Commission to be Governour of *Beaumaris Castle* in *Wales*, with power to raise Forces to secure the Peace of North *Wales*, which was in danger by the Garrisons that the *Sectaries* had plac'd there during their Administration. He remov'd Colonel *Walton* from his Regiment, and dispos'd of it to Colonel *Charles Howard*, with the Government of *Carlile*, and Major General *Morgan* he substituted in his place in *Scotland*. *Ireland* was secur'd by the Lord *Broghill*. Sir *Theophilus Jones*, and Sir *Charles Coot*. And now *Monk* having settled the Army and Garrisons to his mind, was less reserv'd, and the Royalists found open and easie access to him. Though the Secluded Members were admitted, and the House full, yet there were still a great many among them who had been deeply concern'd in

the Civil-War, and as willing as they were to restore the King, for their own Justification, they past a Declaration, which all Officers were to sign, and the General among the rest; *That the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament, in their defence against the Forces of the late King, was Just and Lawful.* On the 14th. of March, Monk was Chosen Major General of the City-Militia, and advis'd to disarm dangerous Persons, and keep strict Guards. He displac'd all the Militia Officers that were disaffected, and gave their Commands to Loyal and Principal Citizens, Alderman *Bludworth*, Alderman *Bateman*, and Alderman *Robinson*, who were afterwards Mayors, Alderman *Wale*, Alderman *Vincent*, and Mr. *Bromfield*, were made Colonels; and the Parliament made the General a Present of 20000*l.* and the Stewardship of *Hampton Court*. Monk expressing some Dissatisfaction at two or three Clauses in an Act lately past for settling the *Militia*, a Committee were order'd to give him the Reasons of the House, with which he seem'd contented; but his interposing in an Act of Parliament, was thought too high and extravagant by those Members who were unwilling that any one shou'd share the Sovereignty with themselves. They had had the Power so long, that they did not know well how to brook a Partner, though one wou'd think the Interruptions giv'n them by

the

the *Rump*, the two Protectors and *Fleetwood*, and *Lambert*, shou'd have made them relish a Check better. The 16th. of *March*, a Bill past for the Dissolution of this the Long Parliament, who had Sat Nineteen years, and almost half, from the 8th. of *November* 1640. to that day. There was an Objection made to the Legality of the Bill, for that the Parliament cou'd not be lawfully Dissolv'd without the *Legal Consent* of the King, and the Lords ; but they might rather have objected to their Sitting at all ; for their Dissolution immediately follow'd the Death of the King, according to our Constitution. The Parliament order'd Writs to be issu'd out for summoning a new Parliament to meet the 25th. of *April* 1660. and then resign'd their Powers into the Hands of a Council of State, of whom General *Monk* was one.

The Intrigues for restoring his Majesty, were no Secret to the Republican Party ; but they were so low that they cou'd not prevent them : all the opposition they gave to them was by a Paper-War. They publish'd a Pamphlet to terrifie all Persons that shou'd be Accessary to the Kings Return, by representing him as a Cruel and Revengeful Prince. The Libel was call'd *A Letter from Brussels*, and striking on the Peoples Guilt and Fear, had like to have done Mischief. Mr. *Evelyn* of *Deptford* answer'd it very

well; however the Terrors that dwelt on the minds of many cool'd their Zeal for assisting the General. The Royalists were render'd odious by the false Characters giv'n of them, as bloody and irreconcilable, which they endeavour'd to confute by several excellent Declarations. One of them, to shew the Temper of those generous Persons, we shall abbreviate. *We do sincerely profess that we do reflect on our past Sufferings as from the Hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent Thoughts or Inclinations against those who have been any way Instrumental in them; and if the Indiscretion of any hot spirited Persons, transports them to Expressions contrary to this our Sense, we utterly disclaim them, and desire that the imputation may extend no farther than the folly of the Offender.* That we may all speak one Language, and be of one Name, that all mention of Parties and Factions, and all Rancour and Animosities, may be bury'd, &c. This was sign'd by Nineteen Lords, One Bishop, Twenty nine Knights, Four Doctors of Divinity, and Seventeen Lawyers and Gentlemen of Note. These promis'd to submit to the Council of State, and Mr. Scot and other Common-Wealths-Men were call'd on to sign an Engagement not to disturb the Publick Peace. The General had profest a Friendship for Scot, but it was inconsisten't with his Duty to the King, to continue it any longer, and he early grew cold to

ward

wards him, and all of his Party. *Lambert* escap'd out of the *Tower*, and the Council of State publish'd a Proclamation to seize him if he did not render himself in Twenty four hours. In the beginning of *April* the General was unanimously chosen Knight of the Shire for *Devonshire*, and the University of *Cambridge*, chose him also to represent them in the Ensuing Parliament. Nor was he only Complemented by his Countrymen, the King of *Denmark* wrote him a very kind Letter in praise of his Proceedings.

On the 27th. of *April* the Parliament met. The Lords chose the Earl of *Manchester* their Speaker, and the Commons Sir *Habkettle Grimston*. The first thing they did was to order Thanks to General *Monk* for his Eminent Services, and now the Restauration of Monarchy was so apparent, that the Republicans thought complying wou'd be the surest means to be safe. Sir *Arthur Haslerigge* came to *Monk*, and deliver'd up his two Regiments, and the Goverments of *Berwick*, *Newcastle*, and *Tinmouth*, which were giv'n him by the late Council of State, on condition to have his Life and Estate preserv'd, which the General assur'd him a few days before the Parliament sat. Sir *John Greenville*, by the Kings command attended General *Monk*, and by the Assistance of Mr. *Morrice* deliver'd the Kings Letters to him in his Chamber, where no body but

themselves were present. The Letters are dated at *Breda* the 4th. of *April*, and contain Promises of Favour and Advancement, in return for the Services he shou'd do his Majesty. *Monk* read them twice, and then reply'd, *That he wou'd not only comply with the Kings Desires, but also restore him without any Conditions, or any the least Diminution of his Royal Authority, neither did he propose any Terms for himself, submitting that to his Majesty when he return'd.* Sir *John Greenville* wou'd have had Letters from him to satisfie the King; which the General excus'd, saying, *He wou'd commit nothing to writing, nor send any one to the King besides himself.* He added, *He hop'd his Majesty wou'd pardon what was past, that he had always a Veneration for the King, and now upon this first occasion wou'd testifie his Obedience to him, though to the hazard of his Life and Fortune.* Sir *John* hasten'd to *Brussels*, where his Majesty then resided, to give him an account of his Negotiation. The King was infinitely pleas'd with the Generals frank Declaration; the more because he had lately received Letters out of *England*, advising him to accept of the *Isle of Wight* Conditions, they being the best his Friends cou'd procure. Sir *Edward Hyde*, and the Marquess of *Ormond*, propos'd it to the King to send *Monk* a Commission to be General of all his Forces, which he did in a very kind and obliging manner,

manner, and was a just Acknowledgement for so great a Benefit as he was the chief Author of to his Majesty and his Kingdoms. In the latter end of April, *Lambert* was taken by Colonel *Ingoldsby* near *Daventry*, and brought Prisoner to *London*. His Soldiers threw down their Arms, and *Lambert* rode for his Life; but *Ingoldsby* got up with him, and threatned to Pistol him if he did not surrender. The Council having examin'd him, committed him to the *Tower*, and this small Insurrection under *Lambert* in *Northamptonshire*, was the last Appearance of the Republicans in Arms. The 1st. of May Sir *John Greenvill* return'd from *Flanders* with his Majesty's Letter and Declaration to the House of Lords, his Message and Declaration to the House of Commons, and a Letter to General *Monk* to be communicated to the Army. They were all dated at *Breda*, and are full of gracious Promises of Pardon for Life, Liberty, and Estates, Liberty of Conscience, and Exhortations to Union and Concord. On the reading the Kings Letter in the House of Commons, Mr. *Luke Robinson*, Scots Partner in *Monk's* Company and Friendship, and lately a fierce Republican, highly extol'd the King's Mercy and Goodness. His Majesty wrote also a Letter to the Lord-Mayor Sir *Thomas Allen*, the Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*; and to General *Montague*, Admiral of the Fleet,

Fleet, to be communicated to the rest of the Officers. The Parliament receiv'd and read the King's Letters, after which they voted, *That the Government of England is Monarchical, consisting in a King, and two Houses of Parliament.* His Majesty's Letter to the General was read in the House of Commons, and Dr. Clarges carry'd over Monk's Answer to *Flanders*, for which he was Knighted. The House gave leave to Mr. Montague to answer the Letter to the Fleet, and the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council appointed a Committee to wait on the King with an Answer to the Letter addrest to them, when the two Houses of Parliament sent their Deputies to his Majesty. The Consequence of these Letters, Messengers, and Votes, was Proclaiming the King the 8th. of May, General Monk leading the Cavalcade, and is the only Person who had leave giv'n him to stay in *White-Hall*.

The King had notice from the General, that the *Spaniards* design'd to stop him if he staid longer in their Dominions, he therefore advis'd his Majesty to retire to *Breda*, a Town belonging to our late Sovereign King *William*. The Presbyterian Clergy who were at that time thought very Loyal, sent their Deputies to *Breda*, where the King permitted them to pray with him, and gave them his Royal Word, to favour and protect them. From *Breda*, he and his

his two Brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, went to the *Hague*, and were presented by the States with 6000*l.* for their present Occasions. The *Dutch* every where receiv'd him with Joy, and the King was pleased to say, *he thought his own Subjects could scarce have more Tenderness for him than those People, on whose Affections he saw he reign'd no less than he was going to reign over the Wills of the English.*

The 23d. of *May*, General *Monk* had Leave of the House to attend the King at his Landing, and the same Day he set out with a gallant Company of Noblemen and Gentlemen to meet his Majesty at *Dover*, where he intended to land. At *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas Clarges* returning from *Holland* met the General, and brought him another kind Letter from the King.

The 25th. of *May*, his Majesty landed at *Dover*; General *Monk* met him on the *Beech*, and when he saw the King, threw himself at his Feet; his Majesty took him up, embrac'd and kist him, and walk'd with him to his Coach. The General rode in Boot the two Miles from *Dover*, the King took Horse, The Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester* riding on his Right-Hand, and General *Monk* on his Left; the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the rest of the Noblemen and Gentlemen who attended the King, follow'd in their Order, till they came to *Canterbury*.

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The 26<sup>th</sup>. the General was install'd Knight of the Garter, the Ensigns of Honour being put on him by the two Royal Brothers, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, and at Night the King sent him a Warrant to be Master of his Horse. The 29<sup>th</sup>. of May, the King review'd the Army drawn up on Blackheath, and then made his publick Entry into London. In the Evening, Monk was sworn of the Privy Council, and the next Day made Captain General of all his Majesty's Forces, and Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and some time after, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. The King besides these profitable and honourable Places, settl'd 7000 Pounds a Year on him, and the Revenues arising from his Grants and Places were so large; that when he died Eight Year afterwards, he left 400000 Pounds in Money and Land to his Son. Yet we must own he was not too well paid for the Share he had in this Glorious Revolution. So great a Service that his Majesty us'd to call him his *Political Father*, and he behav'd himself so modestly after it, that the King said of him, the Duke of Albemarle demean'd himself in such a manner to the Prince he had oblig'd, as never to seem to over-value the Services of General Monk. On which a Modern Author reflects, perhaps he was conscious to himself, that he could not do it without

without Injustice to others. In the beginning of July, he was created Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, &c. The Titles of Albemarle and Beauchamp, were confer'd on him as descended from Margaret Daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Albemarle and Warwick, by John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, the Famous English Hero in the Conquest of France.

In October, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Manchester, General Montague Earl of Sandwich, Denzel Hollis Esquire, Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper, Arthur Annesly Esquire, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, and several other Lords and Gentlemen, the major Part of whom were great Sticklers in the Parliament against the late King, were joyn'd in a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to try the Regicides, for the detested Murder of King Charles the First. For which Major General Harrison, Mr. Carew, Mr. Clement, and Mr. Scot, Members of the same Parliament, Colonel Scroop, Colonel Hacker, Colonel Axtell, Sollicitor Cook, Colonel Jones, and Hugh Peters, were executed at Charing-Cross, and at Tyburn ; 'twas expected that the Duke of Albemarle would have interceded for Scot, that he might have met with as much Favour as Sir Hardress Waller, General Lambert, Colonel Ingolsby, and others, who were as deep as Scot, in that Action,

Action, and had there Lives spar'd. But the Crime was too bloody and too wicked to admit of Mercy or Pity. The Duke was soon after made Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon*, and *Middlesex*, and the Borough of *Southwark*, and the Nation being at Peace at Home and abroad, the King propos'd it to the Parliament to disband the Army, to which they willingly consented, and the Duke of *Albemarle* prepar'd the Soldiers by Degrees to submit to the Necessity of the Government, by removing such Officers as he found resty, and putting others in their Places. He was himself very forward to have the Act pass for their disbanding, and the Lord High Chancellour *Hide*, joyn'd with him in it, out of Policy to get rid of an Army, who tho' they lately had done some good, had before done as much Mischief, and to continue them might be both dangerous and expensive.

We hear nothing else of the Lord General, till in the latter End of the Year 1661. He was taken violently ill, but by the Care and Skill of Sir *Alexander Fraser*, his Majesty's Physician, he recover'd his Health for that time.

In 1665, the Plague rag'd terribly in the City of *London*, it took off almost 100000 Men, Women and Children; the Court, and most Persons of Quality, remov'd

mov'd to their Country-Houses, at greatest distance from the Infection. But the Duke of *Albemarle* believing he might be serviceable by staying in Town to keep the publick Peace, and defend the Citizens, from all Insults in so dreadful a Calamity ; he remain'd there till the Disease abated, distributing large Sums to the Poor, which he gather'd for them from the King and Court. The Lord *Craven* was his Companion in these good Deeds ; a Gentleman famous in our Days for his readiness to assist the People on all Occasions, where the Presence of a Man of Quality, was necessary to calm and comfort them. The King in this Year, declar'd War with the States General of the United Provinces ; and the Duke of *York* Lord High Admiral of *England*, went to Sea in Person to chastise the *Dutch*, for some Affronts offer'd to the King his Brother. We will not pretend to enter into the true Causes of this Rupture ; if it had not been left so much a Mystery to us, we were not to be excus'd for our brevity, but since we can only guess at the Grounds, the Reader's may be better than ours, and to him we leave it. Under the Duke of *York*, the Fleet was commanded by the Duke of *Albemarle*, and the Earl of *Sandwich* ; his Royal Highness left the Management of the Affairs of the Admiralty ashore to the Duke of *Albemarle*,

*Albemarle*, and took the Earl of *Sandwich* along with him. The Duke of *York* engag'd the *Dutch*, and obtain'd a signal Victory. The Justices of the Peace in the Sickness Time, always apply'd to the Duke of *Albemarle*, on any Difficult in the Exercise of their Commissions; this and the Care of the Soldiers, who were to the number of 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, reserv'd for his Majesty's Guards, very much disturb'd him in the discharge of his Trust in the Admiralty; however he went thro' all with great Clearfulness and Industry; and his Royal Highness contenting himself with the Glory of the last Years Victory, left the sole Command of the Fleet, to the Duke of *Albemarle*, who early in the following Summer, 1666; set Sail in search of the Enemy, with a Fleet of 60 Men of War. He met the *Dutch* off *Newport*; and tho' they had 90 stout Ships in their Fleet, he gave them Battel on the 11th. of June, fought them all that Day and the next with equal Success, on the third Day, the Duke was reinforc'd with 16 Large Ships, and renew'd the Fight, which continu'd from 6 in the Morning till 9 at Night. The Advantage is disputed by both Nations; 'tis true the *English* retreating first to their Coast, leave their Pretences the more suspicious. The Duke kept in the Rear, and engag'd the Enemy who pursu'd him.

him, while his Ships that were disabled got into their Harbours. The *English* lost in this Engagement, the *St. Paul*, the *Bull*, and another Ship taken formerly from the *Dutch*, the *Prince*, the *Loyal George*, the *Essex*, the *Katharine*, and the *Smifisure*. As for the Enemy, they make their loss inconsiderable; yet the Duke of *Albemarl* told the Parliament they had at least twenty Ships sunk and burnt. We cannot here omit giving the Reader a tast of Dr. *Gumble's* Ingenuity and Politicks, who, in his Life of the Duke of *Albemarl*, speaking of the loss sustain'd in another Fight, to extenuate it, says, That *the loss of the Sampson trou'led him at first, but he was soon consolated when he remember'd 'twas built by Cromwel*. The Lord Admirals Ship being like to be taken running on the Galloper Sands, he resolv'd to blow it up rather than let his Enemies triumph over him; but the Ship getting off hinder'd him giving that Desperate Proof of his Courage. The *Dutch* increas'd their Fleet, and return'd to the Coast of *England* the latter end of *July*, and though the Duke was not very well prepar'd to meet them, yet he ventur'd out, and again fought a bloody Battle, and gain'd a glorious Victory. He drove the *Dutch* to their Sands, and landed some Men on the Isle of *Schelling*, where Sir *Robert Holms* took a Village, call'd *Brandaris*, and burnt three hundred

Huts, while another Squadron sunk and burnt the Ships in the Port. To destroy their Ships was fair in a Marine War, but to imitate the *French*, and turn Incendiaries towards our Protestant Neighbours, was an Action which no Historian above Mr. *Gumble's* degree of Learning and Reason woud have stil'd a *Prodigious Exploit*. We laugh at the *French* for magnifying their Enterprize at *Tinmouth*, let us not therefore fill our Histories with such ridiculous Events as the burning a poor Fisher Town; the Folly and Barbarity of the Action at *Brandaris*, is not to be charg'd on the Duke of *Albemarl*, who never delighted in Blood or Cruelty; let Sir *Robert Holms* answer for it, who did all the drudgery of the *Dutch Wars*, who attack'd the *Hollanders* in *Guinea*, before a Declaration of War, and afterwards fell on their *Smyrna* Fleet in time of Peace; which were both of them just such *Prodigious Exploits* as the Sacking of *Brandaris*. We shall say no more of these burnings, having a more dreadful one in our way, the Fire of *London*, which happen'd in September, and destroy'd fourteen thousand Houses, Halls, Colleges, and publick Edifices. The Duke of *Albemarl* was not then return'd from aboard the Fleet: whom, says the then Bishop of *Salisbury* in his Funeral Sermon, the Citizens mist extreamly in the Conflagration, so much they expected from his Piety

Piety, and the Care he had of the Publick Welfare. Sir John Lanson, when the Dutch War broke out, advis'd the King to make it Piratical, but he scorn'd his Council as dishonourable, though it had been more to his Profit than set Battles. This Action was the last we find the Duke concern'd in, and he did not long Survive the Peace which was made between King Charles II. and the United Provinces in 1668.

He was taken ill of the Distemper of which he dy'd, in the Summer, and it increas'd on him till it carry'd him to his Grave. He believ'd he shou'd die two or three months before his Decease, and dispos'd himself to finish his Life like a good Christian His Case being desperate, he consented to try a desperate Cure, and put himself into the Hands of a *Bristol Quack*, famous at that time, who gave him a Draught which had strange effects ; but either through the persuasion of his Servants, or his own incredulity, he dismiss'd the Quack, and left off his Medicines, and from that day grew worse and worse. He sign'd the Contract of Marriage between his only surviving Son *Christopher*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Henry Earl of Ogle*, and had the satisfaction to see them married four days before his death. He was in his Illness visited by the King and his Royal Highness, by the Bishops, and all the Persons of Quality

lity about Town. His strength failing by degrees, he quietly departed this Life the 3d. of *January* 1668. sitting in his Chair. His Body was by the King's Command Embalm'd, and remov'd to *Somerset-House*, where it lay in State, and was thence on the 4th. of *April* following, convey'd with extraordinary Funeral Pomp to *Westminster Abbey*, and bury'd on the North-side of King *Henry VII's Chappel*.

His Son *Christopher Duke of Albemarle* had not any of his Fathers Military Qualities. He lov'd his Pleasures, and in the pursuit of them ran out great part of his Fathers Estate. In his latter days he recover'd himself by a venture to Sea, manag'd by *Sir William Phips*, who fishing for Silver on the Coast of *Mexico*, where *Carruck a Spaniard* founder'd, took up a vast Treasure, near 50000*l.* of it came to the Duke's share. Sometime after in the Reign of King *James*, he went Governor of *Jamaica*, and the *American Islands*. He dy'd in his Government with Excess of drinking, and leaving no Heirs, the Succession to his Estate gave rise to the most famous Law Suit that ever came into *Westminster-Hall*, (between the Earls of *Bath* and *Mountague*) and was at last ended by Composition.

T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
*A N T H O N Y*  
Earl of S H A F T S B U R Y.

THE Lord *Shaftsbury's* Character is left so much a Mystery, that we believe few reasonable People will venture to decide whether he was either so False, Factious, and Ambitious as his Enemies report him; or so Generous, so Publick Spirited, so hearty a Lover of Religion and Liberty, as his Friends say he was. Both Friends and Enemies agree that he was the most Consummate Politician of his Time and Nation. Let his Actions be the Test of his Honour and Sincerity, we shall relate them with strict regard

gard to the Truth, and the Reader may from thence form a Judgment of the Man, if to his advantage or disadvantage is not to our purpose.

Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* was the Son of Sir *John Cooper*, of *Rockburn* in *Wiltshire*, Baronet, and *Anne*, Daughter and Heiress of Sir *Anthony Ashley* of *Wimburn St. Giles*, in the County of *Dorset*, by *Jane* Daughter of *Phillip Okeover*, of *Okeover* in *Staffordshire*, Esquire. He was born the 22d. of *July* 1621, and his Grandfather Sir *Anthony Ashley* gave him both his Names at the Font. Sir *John Cooper*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley*'s Estates fell to him on the death of those Gentlemen, and being 8000 Pounds a year, the Reflection that has been made on him that he rais'd a Fortune out of nothing, is both groundless and ridiculous, for he rather diminish'd than increas'd what his Fathers left him, by his expensive Industry in prosecuting his future Designs. In his Youth he apply'd himself with unusual pleasure to all sorts of Learning, and his Friends encourag'd and improv'd his Inclination to Books, by the care they took of his Education.

In 1636. he became Fellow Commoner of *Exeter College* in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of Dr. *Prideaux*, Rector of the College, where the Proficiency he made in Letters gave early hopes of the Greatness he was

was born to, which was foretold him by a *German* Gentleman in his Fathers Family, who to prove his Prediction true, advis'd him to beware of Water such a day some years afterwards. This Gentleman was a Native of the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, and forc'd to fly his Country on account of his Religion. Sir *John Cooper* entertain'd him during his stay in *England*; and the *German*, either to flatter his Host, or to encourage his Son, often declar'd that he shou'd be the greatest Man in *England*, and the most Popular, with several other remarkable Predictions, which we avoid repeating, not to offend the Reader by imposing too much on his Faith. Mr. *Cooper* staid two years at *Oxford*, and then remov'd to *Lincolns-Inn*, and arriv'd to such Perfection in the Study of the Law, that King *Charles* said of him, when he was Lord Chancellor, *He had more Law in him than all his Judges.* While he was at the Inns of Court, he made an appointment to go by Water to *Greenwich* with some Gentlemen of the Society, and when he came to the Stairs to take Boat, he remember'd that was the very day which the *German* forewarn'd him of not to hazard himself on the Water, at the same time that he bad him Hope for what he had Ambition enough to aspire to. Though perhaps he gave as little Credit to the Prophesie as we our selves

can do ; yet he wou'd not try the Experiment, and desir'd to be excus'd, and to stay at Home, but his Friends that were going into the Wherry laugh'd him out of his Superstition, and took him into the Boat, which as they were shooting the Bridge, was carry'd by a Tide of Ebb so violently against a Leighter that was just gone through, that it sunk, and had not some Boats accidentally come by to take them up, he and his Company had been all drown'd.

He staid at *Lincolns-Inn*, till his Relations dispos'd of him in Marriage to *Margaret*, the Lord *Coventry's* Daughter. He was chosen Burges's for *Tewksbury* in *Gloucester-shire*, to serve in the Parliament which open'd the 13. of April 1640. This Parliament, who were Men of Temper and Integrity, were hastily dissolv'd by the procurement of some ill Counsellours about the King, and a New one call'd, which met the 3d of November following, and is known by the Name of the first *Long Parliament*. His Father dying in the beginning of the Troubles, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* rais'd a Regiment for his Majesty's Service, and was made Governor of *Weymouth* by the King. He rais'd the Regiment to keep the County of *Dorset*, of which he was High-Sheriff, in Peace. He summon'd the Inhabitants to meet him at *Dorchester*, to engage them in the Royal Cause, which he had espous'd.

But

But the King fearing to trust his Youth or his Loyalty, sent Colonel *William Ashburnham* to command in *Dorsetshire*. Sir *Anthony* in disgust, immediately took Horse and went to *London*, where the Parliament sat, and 'twas not long before some of the Members persuaded him to defend his Countries Liberties, which they pretended were invaded by the Court.

In the year 1644. he rais'd Forces in the County of *Dorset* for the Parliament, was made Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and took the Covenant. He march'd with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Jephson's* to *Wareham*, then in the King's Possession, and tho he had not above 1500 Men with him, yet he assaulted the Out-works, carry'd one of them, and beat the Royalists into the Town, which they surrender'd on Terms, Three hundred of the Garrison Lifting themselves to serve the Parliament against the *Irish Rebels*. While Sir *Anthony* was at *Wareham*, Sir *Lewis Dives* got together Two thousand Men in *Dorsetshire*, and wanted an opportunity to join the King's Forces before *Taunton*. Sir *Anthony* with an equal number of Men took the Field to observe him, and hinder'd him from marching to the West. In 1643. he was chosen Sheriff of *Norfolk*, and approv'd of by the Parliament, and in 1646. Sheriff of *Wilts*, having a particular Ordinance of Parliament to live out

out of the County. He discharg'd his Office in both those Counties to general Satisfaction, which was not easie to do in those difficult times; and though the business of the Field was not so agreeable to his Genius as that of the Cabinet, yet he acted with a great deal of Courage and Conduct, when his Sword was more useful than his Pen.

In the year 1651. the Parliament, who then govern'd the three Kingdoms, *Voted*, *That it be refer'd to Persons out of the House to consider what Inconveniences there are in the Law, &c.* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was chief of the Committee, who made considerable progress in reforming the Grievances of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, but the House did not sit long enough to bring the matter to Maturity. *Cromwel* put an end to their Session, and summon'd a Convention to meet the 4th of July 1653. Sir Anthony was chosen to serve in his Mock Parliament for the County of Wilts. This was a very unfair Representative of the People, such only were summon'd as Oliver was pleas'd to approve of, and not above One hundred and forty for several particular Places where he thought his Interest strong enough to carry it. The Convention, after they had sat near half a year, resign'd their Powers and the Government into *Cromwel's* Hands, on Conditions mention'd in an Instrument

Instrument sign'd by him in Chancery. By the 25th Article Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and 13 Gentlemen more were appointed to be the *New Protectors Council*; who, with their Master's Consent, had pow'r giv'n them to make or suspend Laws, raise Money, and act with Sovereign Authority in Intervals of Parliament. The Convention by the 21st. Article of the abovemention'd Instrument order'd that the Names of such as were return'd to sit in the Parliaments to be call'd by the Protector shou'd be certifi'd to the Council, who shou'd peruse the said Returns, and examine whither the Persons so elected were agreeable to the Qualifications set down in the same Instrument, and such as were not disabled to be elected. Oliver held his Government by Virtue of this Paper, and this twenty first Article was as much Law as the Authority he had to call a Parliament, we cannot therefore blame the Usurper for putting it in Execution, but must condemn those who stood for Members of Parliament, without having a legal Summons. If they thought he had a Right to give out Writs for Parliaments, they knew he had by the same Instrument a Right in his Council to examine the Qualifications of such as were elected, who were to produce this Certificate, or not to be admitted into the House.

Com' Bucks.

**T**hese are to certifie that ——————  
is return'd to serve in this present Parliament  
for the said County, and approv'd of  
by his Highnesses Council.

*Nath. Taylor, Clerk of the  
Common-Wealth in Chancery.*

The Protector at first found Sir *Anthony* very complying, and the latter to make his Court to *Cromwell*, desir'd one of his Daughters in Marriage, his first Wife being dead; but *Cromwell*, who tho' he had not so much Learning yet he had as much Cunning as *Cooper*, began to grow jealous of Sir *Anthony's* Politicks and Ambition, and refus'd to take him so near into his Bosom. This disgusted the Privy-Councillor, and he afterwards fell in with the Country Party against the Protectors Court. While he was in the Ministry, he concluded a Treaty with Mr. *Bourdeaux* the French Ambassador. And in the Year 1654, he was chosen both for *Poole* and *Tewksbury*, to serve in the Parliament which met the 4th. of September; they past a Recognition Bill, but with such Exceptions as provok'd the Protector to dissolve them; and Sir *Anthony* in this Session, appear'd so boldly against the new Usurpati-

on

on of the Protectors Council, that when he was return'd for the County of Wilts, in the Parliament which was to sit the 17<sup>th</sup>. of April, 1656. he and above 100 other Gentlemen were refus'd Certificates, and Admission into the House. Oliver also discharg'd him from his Place in the Council, and now Sir Anthony was Head of the disaffected Party, he drew up a Remonstrance bitter enough against the Protector and the present Government, shewing the Illegality of his and other Members, being kept out of the House, because Cromwell's Council were not pleas'd to approve of them; near a 100 Gentlemen sign'd the Paper, which was presented to the House, who confirm'd the Usurper in his Chair, and were as pliable as his Court could wish; yet after they had a little better consider'd the Case of their excluded Brethren, they voted, *That no Member legally chosen and return'd, could be excluded from performing his Duty, but by Consent of Parliament.* They immediately proceeded to call over their House, and admitted Sir Anthony and those who had subscrib'd the Remonstrance, after which they were presently dissolv'd. The Protector did not long survive his Parliament; and on his Death, his Son Richard reign'd 6 or 7 Months in his Place, but was depos'd by his Brother Fleetwood, and Friend Lambert, who in the Name of the

the Army, invited the *Rump* which Oliver had turn'd out in April 1653, to return to their Duty. Sir *Anthony* carry'd their Declaration to their Speaker *Lenthall*, and persuaded him to submit to it. Most of the great Officers of the Army, accompanied him to the Speakers House, where several Members of the long Parliament met them, and there 'twas agreed that they should meet next Day in the Painted-Chamber, and from thence go to the House, and *Lambert* was order'd to be their Guard, which was done. The *Rump* nam'd a Council of State, of which Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* was a Member, who by his Seat at their Council Board, having an Opportunity to know the Strength and Weakness of the Government, perceiv'd this Anarchy could not last long; and from this Time, he resolv'd to assist those whose Intentions were to settle Peace on a solid Foundation, by calling in the King to the Exercise of his Regal Office.

He kept a constant Correspondence with the Royalists, both at home and abroad, and what Interest he had in the several Councils of State, and the various Governments that were in Authority after the Murder of King *Charles I.* he employ'd to serve such of the Kings Friends, as were in Distress; yet while he saw there was no Likelihood that King *Charles II.* would

be

be restor'd, he kept fair with his Enemies, and as soon as there were Hopes of bringing it about, no man was more Instrumental than himself. The Army, displeas'd with some Votes of the *Rump*, turn'd them a second Time out of their House, and set up a military Government, under the Name of a Committee of Safety, who were most of them Officers, and these extravagant Proceedings gave the Royalists an Opportunity to increase their Interest in the Country. Sir *Anthony* was in Sir *George Booth's* Conspiracy, but that Rising was so soon quell'd, that before he could get his Men together in *Dorsetshire*, Sir *George* was taken at *Newport-Pagnel*. Then the Gentlemen who were contriving to restore his Majesty, thought to apply to General *Monk* in *Scotland*, and under Colour of delivering the Parliament from the Army, to prepare a Way for the King's Return. Sir *Anthony* had before been accus'd in Parliament, for corresponding with Sir *Edward Hyde*; but he baffl'd his Accusers by force of Arguments, and high Professions of his Innocence, denying that he ever held any Correspondence with the King, with Sir *Edward Hyde*, or any of the Kings Ministers and Friends; he was so warm in his Denyal, that many began to suspect him, as indeed they had good Reason, but they voted him not guilty. He wrote to General

neral *Monk*, to proceed in his generous Design to restore the Parliament ; and went with Colonel *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Weaver*, to the Lord-Mayor, where several well-affected Citizens met them, and they together, held a Consultation how the Parliament might peaceably return to their House. The City declar'd for't, and the Army joyn'd in it with them. On this second Restauration of the *Rump*, Sir *Anthony* was admitted to sit in the House, having been elect'd in the Room of a Member lately deceas'd. He was made Lieutenant of the Tower, and one of the Committee to direct and order the Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; *Fleetwood's* Regiment of Horse was bestow'd on him, and he prevail'd on both Officers and Soldiers to declare for *Monk* and a free Parliament, or the Admission of the secluded Members. There was an Engagement to be taken by all that were to enter into any Place of Trust, in the State or Army, by which they renounc'd the Royal Family. Sir *Anthony* vigorously oppos'd it, and persuaded Colonel *Morley*, to whom he had resign'd the Government of the Tower, to joyn with him in't, and by their Interest it fell, which was a good Step towards the Kings Restauration. When *Monk* came to *London*, and was by the Parliaments Order sent into the City, to quiet some Disturbances, which

which were rais'd there for a free Parliament. Sir *Anthony* went with some of the sitting Members, to meet the secluded Members privately at the General's Quarters, at Alderman *Wale's*; there the sitting Members agreed to admit their secluded Brethren; both Presbyterians and Church-Men, joyning heartily in their Resolution for a speedy Settlement of the Nation. The Sectaries had not Interest enough to hinder the Admission of the secluded Members; and many of them that were in the House of Commons, being stain'd with the late Kings Blood, absented themselves; fearing what would follow, when they saw the secluded Members enter the House; which they did the 21st. of February, 1659. and immediately vacated all that had been done since their Exclusion in 1648. They resolv'd to have a free Parliament, to meet the 25th. of April 1660, and in the Interval appointed a Council of State, of which Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* was chief, to govern the three Kingdoms. The Court at Brussels, did not so well approve of Sir *Anthony's* Methods for restoring the King, as of General *Monks*. *Hyde* corresponded with Sir *Anthony*, at the same Time that Sir *John Granville* dealt with General *Monk*; but the former was for making Conditions, and obliging the King to fulfil the Isle of Wight Treaty, as the only Way for his

speedy Restauration. That Treaty, to secure the Liberty of the Subject, had made great Incroachments on the Prerogative Royal, and the General promising to bring in his Majesty without making any Conditions either for himself or the People; his Offers were accepted as the more generous, and the more honourable, for Monk and his Majesty, neither did it consist with the General's Professions of Loyalty to dispute with his Sovereign. Till he gave the Court this Encouragement Sir *Anthony*'s Proposals were hearkned to, and Sir *Edward Hyde* inclin'd that his Majesty should grant the Terms of the Isle of *Wight*-Treaty, but afterwards, the Kings return was made easie, and there was no more Talk of Terms. The Council of State made Sir *Anthony* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, and the 25<sup>th</sup>. of April the new Parliament met, of which he was chosen a Member, and he had the Major Part of the House in his Cabal; whether he was for treating with the King, to secure the Liberty of the Subject; or by continuing a great Share of the Sovereign Power in the Parliament, to make himself the more necessary to the Court, or in Hopes that he should divide it with his Majesty, is not our Busines to decide. 'Tis certain he propos'd it, and dropt it, as soon as he saw the General could bring in the King without it. So he

he and his Party joyn'd with the Royalists; and Sir *John Granville* having deliver'd his Majesty's Letter to the House, a Committee was appointed to prepare an Answer, and invite the King to make a speedy Return to them, and the Exercise of his Kingly Office. Sir *Anthony* was of this Committee, and one of the Members of the House of Commons, who were order'd to wait on his Majesty in *Holland*. These Gentlemen having receiv'd their short Instructions, which were nothing but matters of Ceremony and Submission, embark'd in several Ships, and after a dangerous Voyage arriv'd in *Holland*. They attended the King at *Breda*, where they were very welcome, and well entertain'd.

While Sir *Anthony* was Travelling in *Holland*, as 'tis the Custom there for Men of the best Quality, he made use of a Conveyance little better than a Waggon, which over-turn'd and bruis'd his Ribs, and that Wound in time came to an Ulcer, for which he was forc'd to be open'd in the year 1672. during his Chancellorship. The Cure was perform'd by Mr. *Knolls* the Chirurgeon, by the Advice and Direction of the famous Dr. *Willis*, and perhaps was the greatest that was ever effected on the Body of Man. This Operation gave rise to the foolish Story of the *Tap*, with which his Enemies made themselves merry; though the Jest

had no other Foundation than the malitious turn they gave to an unhappy Accident which arriv'd to him in his Majesty's Service.

The 25th. of *May* 1660. the King landed at *Dover*, attended by the Parliament Commissioners, and a numerous and gallant appearance of Gentry, every one striving to outvy his Fellow in the Figure he made on this Occasion; and so extravagant were some of our Nobility, that a certain Peer whose Estate was not above Five thousand Pounds a year, was at Thirty thousand Pounds Expence on himself and his Equi-page, to make a fine show at the welcoming in the King. His Majesty made his publick Entry into *London* on the 29th. of *May*, being his Birth-Day, the Thirtieth Year of his Age. The Cavalcade was the gayest that ever past through the City, and the Joy of the People the most Loud and Universal that ever was known. The Lord-Mayor and Aldermen receiv'd the King in Tents at *St. George's Fields*, and the Lord-Mayor carri'd the Sword before his Majesty through the City. The Particulars of the Procession, as they have no relation to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, farther than that his appearance in it was Magnificent and Remarkable, so we shall say no more of it, but refer the Reader to the Historians of those times. After the King had shewn himself to his People

People in Parliament, he chose his Privy Council, and nam'd Sir Anthony to be one of them.

On the 20th. of April 1661. he was created a Baron of this Kingdom, by the Title of Lord Ashley of Wimburn St. Giles's. Sir William Dugdale has translated out of his Patent the Reasons why he was advanc'd to this Honour. *For having manifested his Loyalty to King Charles I. of blessed Memory, as also his great Affection to his Country in the late perilous and difficult Times, and likewise to our present Sovereign, by his prudent and seasonable Advices and Consultations with General Monk and others, in order to his peaceful and happy Restauration.* He was appointed one of the Commissioners to try the King's Judges, and shew'd himself tender and impartial to those Prisoners that lately had sat with him in places of Honour and Pow'r. The next marks of Royal Favour which were shewn him, was his being made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Under-Treasurer, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Dorset, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; in all which Offices he behav'd himself with eminent Zeal for the King's Interest, and while he was in the Secret of Government, one of the Cabinet Council, and as high in Favour as any one at Court, there was no suspicion of his Loyalty, or his aiming to be Popular. He did not for

many years distinguish himself by opposing those Counsels which made the People uneasie; and when in the year 1671. he procur'd an Indulgence for tender Consciences, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, a known Papist, join'd with him in it, who wou'd not have encourag'd it, had he not believ'd 'twou'd be a Service to his own Religion. He was as deeply concern'd as *Clifford* or *Lauderdale*, in the shutting up of the *Exchequer*, which was a scandalous Project to stop the Paiment of 1200000 Pounds, which had been borrow'd of Bankers and others, who were all of them at once ruin'd by the Policy of this Ministry. For the King was of himself too generous in his Nature to give way to such a base Design, if he had not been abus'd by Corrupt Counsellors.

In 1672. his Majesty created the Lord *Ashley* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the same year gave him the Custody of the Great Seal of *England*, with the Title of Lord High-Chancellor. How he demean'd himself in that exalted Station his Transactions in *Chancery* while he was Judge of the Court, will best demonstrate. His Justice and Equity were never complain'd of, and few, if any of his Decrees, Reverst. The King was now engag'd in a War with the *Dutch*, which was the Contrivance and Advice of five of his Councillors, who were known by the name of the *Cabal*, alluding

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to the first Letters of their Names. *Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington* and *Lauderdale*. The Duke of *Bucks* and the Lord *Ashley* pretended to be equally Loyal to the King and Kingdom. The Lord *Arlington* was entirely in the Interest of the Court, because he thought it his own. His only fault being the love of Money. The Lords *Clifford* and *Lauderdale*, were Men obnoxious to the whole Nation, the former on account of his Religion, the latter for his Vices and Cruelty, and were both of them generally hated. How the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Arlington*, and *Shaftsbury*, cou'd joyn with two such Persons, we cannot reconcile to the Characters that they aim'd at of being zealous for the Publick Good, since they knew, better than any one else, how fatal the *Dutch* War was to the Protestant Interest, and consequently to that of *England*. But this part of the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Life, as 'tis the most Mysterious, so 'tis the most inexcusable. The famous Speech he made in Parliament against the *Dutch*, wherein he apply'd, *Delenda est Carthago* to them, was reflected on him when he fell in with those that were then call'd the Country Party, and we wou'd draw a Veil over this part of his Life, if we intended to write a Panegyrick, and not a History. 'Twou'd be too long to repeat this, and other Speeches which he made while he was Lord Chancellor,

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cellor, and afterwards in the House of Peers, though we must deprive the Reader of a great deal of Pleasure and Instruction by omitting them. For as he was certainly the most Able, so he was the most Eloquent Statesman of his Age. While he was Lord Chancellor, he liv'd at *Exeter-House* in the *Strand*, and by his Expence and Carriage supported the first Dignity of the Kingdom, in a manner for which none of his Predecessors did ever set him an Example, and none of his Successors cou'd or wou'd imitate. On the first day of *Hillary-Term* he went in great State from *Exeter-House* to *Westminster-Hall*, attended by all the Officers of the Court of *Chancery*, the Students of the Inns of Court, Baristers at Law, the Solicitor and Attorney General, the Twelve Judges, the Officers of the City of *Westminster*, and the Gentleman of his Household, himself in rich Robes, mounted on a fine Horse, past through the *Strand* in decent and gallant Order. 'Twas said he did it to make himself Popular, and indeed 'twas about this time that he began to be weary of the Court, or the Court weary of him; and he took hold of all opportunities to careſſ those who were dissatisfi'd with the present Ministry. He affected an extraordinary Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the People; whether there was any thing more than Affectation in it,

let

let others determine, we shall content our selves with relating the Fact, and cannot but be apprehensive that having to treat of such nice Points as the Popish and Presbyterian Plots, we shall in the following Pages of our History give offence to all those who are bigotted to Parties. The one will think we speak too tenderly of the Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Cause. The others that we are too lukewarm, and do not give the Proper Names to Persons and Times. We are not solicitous to please the hot Men of either side and shou'd assume too much to our selves to urge our own Opinion, for the belief or disbelief of future Plots and Conspiracies ; but as far as the Parliament, the Courts of Justice, the Privy-Council, and the Authority of the Nation warrant our Report, we may expect to find Credit.

The Lord *Shaftsbury* having set himself at the Head of the disaffected Party, on all occasions shew'd how much he had the Rights, and Ease of the People at Heart; and when Serjeant *Thurland* took his Oath before him as one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, the Lord Chancellor gave it him with this excellent Advice.

*Let me recommend to you so to manage the King's Justice and the Revenue, as the King may have most Profit, und the Subject least Vexation. Raking for old Debts, the number of Informations, Projects upon Concealments, I con'd*

*cou'd not find (in the Eleven years Experience I had in this Court) ever to advantage the Crown; but such Proceedings have for the most part deliver'd up the Kings good Subjects into the hands of the worst of men, Clerks of the Court, Custom-House-Officers, and Excise-men.*

As his opposing their Counsels had brought him into ill terms with the Ministry, so the *Roman Catholicks* cou'd not endure him for his joyning in with the Protestant Interest against theirs. They had a powerful Faction in City, Court and Country, made up not only of Profest and Private Papists, but of a great number of Persons of all Qualities, who to ingratiate themselves with the Duke of York, spoke kindly of his Religion, and joyn'd with the *Roman Catholicks* in railing at, and oppressing the Dissenters. The moderate Men of the Church of *England*, and the Non-Conformists, were call'd Phanaticks and Rebels, and the Papists and their Confederates were the only Loyal and Reasonable Persons. The Favour shewn to the Catholicks, and the hardships put upon the Dissenters, increas'd the Divisions, and reviv'd the Disputes that had been bury'd for the first ten years of his Majesty's Reign, The Hopes of a Successor of their own Religion, made the Papists and their Faction insolent, and the Fears of the Moderate Churchmen and Dissenters, made them

them uneasy and troublesome. Names of reproach were invented for each Faction, Papist and Phanatick were succeeded by Whig and Tory. Each side branded the other with designs to Subvert the Establish'd Government of Church and State. The Papists to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power. The Phanaticks to set up a Common-Wealth and Presbytery. How far the Factions carry'd on their Designs we shall see hereafter. The Phanaticks, if they had any such Intention, struggled with so many Difficulties, that nothing but Despair or Madnes cou'd force them to think of Attempts which were as Impracticable as Unjust. On the contrary we must confess that the Papists and their Confederates were Favour'd, Applauded, Advanc'd, put into all Places of Trust and Profit, and though they dar'd not to appear bare-fac'd, yet they cou'd not forbear discovering their Hopes, and shew that they expected a Revolution to their Advantage. Their Carriage alarm'd many honest Gentlemen, whose Allegiance was unquestion'd, who had been highly instrumental in his Majesty's Restauration, and the opposite Party began to grow Formidable. All that wou'd not be receiv'd, or were turn'd out by the Court, herded themselves among them, and the specious Pretence of the Danger of Religion and Liberty, drew in abundance of well-

well-meaning Men to carry on the private Ends of those who had no other Design than to support their declining Interest by the Credit of a Faction. This has been often laid to the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Charge, whether 'twas so or not, 'tis certain that ever after, till the hour of his death, he continu'd with indefatigable Zeal to countertermine the Papists in all their Plots and Conspiracies, and they were as Industrious one how or other to get rid of so cunning an Adversary. That the Duke of *York* was the Head of the Popish Faction, no body will question, nor that his Influence over the Councils, was very prejudicial to his Brother King *Charles's* Affairs. 'Twas by his Procurement that the King sent for the Earl of *Shaftsbury* to *White-Hall* in November 1673. and demanded the Seals of him, which he resign'd with great Clearfulness. He kept his Temper in his Disgrace, and putting on his Sword, after he had deliver'd up the Seal, return'd home as unconcern'd as if he had brought the Mace back with him. The same day he was visited by Prince *Rupert*, and most of the Peers and Persons of Quality about Town, who acknowledg'd they were oblig'd to him for the just discharge of the Trust that had been repos'd in him, and return'd him their thanks.

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The Papists finding him unarm'd by the Loss of his Power, began to conspire his Ruin, and how to remove him, the greatest Obstacle to their Designs, out of the Way. And first they trac'd him in all his Steps; as Lord Chancellour, examining the Court Rolls to meet with something, on which to ground an Accusation. Tho' to their Grief, they were utterly disappointed; for the Paper which they presented to the King's Council containing Matters for a Charge, was by them reported to be innocent, and that nothing could be drawn from it to his Prejudice.

In the Year 1675, this Oath was brought into the Parliament. *I A. B. do declare that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, &c.* It was carry'd on vehemently by the reigning Faction, and was as vehemently oppos'd by the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Peers of his Party. The Parliament was prorogu'd before the Lords came to any Resolution about it, but the next Session, they order'd it to be burnt. The Miscarriage of this Project, was laid to the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Shaftsbury, which so enrag'd the Faction, that they hir'd a Mercenary Scribler, to write a scurilous Pamphlet on him call'd, *Advice to the*

*the Men of Shaftsbury.* The Author was one Needham a News Writer in Oliver's Days, whom the *Rump* on their Restauration order'd to be silenc'd for *Scandals*, and *Falshoods*, in his Paper call'd the *Weekly Intelligence*. The burning of the Oath was so disagreeable to the Faction, that they procur'd the Parliament to be prorogu'd for 15 Months. The People were weary enough of the Parliament then sitting, which was the Second Long Parliament. Black Lists, and Rolls of Pensioners, were daily printed, and dispers'd about City and Country. We shall omit Names for the Honour of some Persons now living, who we hope are ashame of such base Practices ; and the Phanatick Party had so effectually ruin'd the Reputation of this Representative by these clandestine Methods, that the People were impatient to have them dissolv'd. They met again in 1676, when the Duke of Bucks stood up in the House, and argu'd with great strength of Reason, that according to the Laws and Constitution of Parliaments, that unpresidened Prorogation was null, and consequently the Parliament dissolv'd ; offering to maintain it to all the Judges, and desiring (as usual in such Cases) that they might give their Opinion. But a noble Lord who had more ill Nature, tho' not so much Wit, as the Duke ; mov'd that

he

he might be call'd to the Bar, which Motion the Earl of *Shaftsbury* oppos'd as Extravagant and boldly and reasonably secon'ded the Duke of *Buckingham's* Argument. The same Question was in Agitation in the House of Commons; but the Majority was against them, and the Faction fell desperately on the Duke, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*; who were sent to the Tower for Contempt, to remain there during his Majesty's and the Houses Pleasure. The Ministers cou'd not bear to hear of parting with this Parliament, having been at a prodigious Expence to keep them in a giving Humour; and they had manag'd them so well that they had given the King more Money than all the Kings of *England*, from *William the Norman* to the Union of the two Kingdoms; had granted them by their Parliaments. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, petition'd the King and were discharg'd. But the Lord *Shaftsbury* for not recanting his Opinion, was kept 13 Months in Prison, all his Petitions were rejected, and when he found 'twas in vain to apply to his Majesty, he had recourse to the Kings-Bench, whether he was brought by a Habeas-Corpus the 27th. of January 1677; Mr *Williams*, Mr. *Wallop*, and Mr. *Smith*, his Council, argu'd that the Court ought to relieve him

him, and the Earl spoke himself with as much Reason and Eloquence as the Justice of his Cause would bear, yet the Judges deny'd him Redress; being all of Opinion with their Brother ————— who declar'd before the Cause was heard *that the Court could not help him*, and being absent when it came to a hearing, deputed Judge Jones to speak for him, *that the Bench might be Unanimous*. The Earl was remanded to Prison, and staid there till the Parliament sat, who were now upon a second Prorogation. His Application to this inferiour Court was voted a Breach of Priviledge by the Lords; but however the Lord Shaftesbury had Liberty to make his full Defence. On the 22d. of February 167<sup>2</sup>, he was brought to the Bar of the House of Peers, where he offer'd to acknowledge his asserting the Dissolution of the Parliament, to be an unadvis'd Action, and to beg their Lordships Pardon for his Offence in bringing his Habeas Corpus. The Lord Treasurer (the Earl of Danby) produc'd a Paper which one Blany had deliver'd him, pretending to give Information of some Words spoken by the Lord Shaftesbury in the Court of Kings-Bench; yet Blany being call'd into the House, cou'd not affirm that what was written in that Paper was really spoken by the Earl of Shaftesbury; upon which the Lord Treasurer dropt the Matter, and the House proceeded

ceeded to a Resolution in what Form the Lord *Shaftsbury* should make his Submission, and Acknowledgment. A Declaration was prepar'd much to the same Effect, with what the Earl offer'd at first ; which the Lord Chancellour read to him, and the Lord *Shaftsbury* kneeling, repeated it at the Bar ; and then withdrew. The House order'd the Lords with white-Staves, to acquaint his Majesty that they had receiv'd Satisfaction from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, in the matter of the *Habeas-Corpus*, and the other Contempt, and pray'd him to discharge the Earl from his Confinement ; which was done.

His Imprisonment very much impair'd his Health, and his Physitians declar'd that his Life was in danger ; and tho he recover'd his Liberty, yet he never after was of so sound and healthy a constitution as before his Confinement. He had not been long out of the Tower, before he was attack'd by a *Second Advice to the Men of Shaftsbury*. A new occasion of Resentment enrag'd the Roman Catholicks against him. On the Rumours that were spread about of Plots and Contrivances carry'd on by Papists, and of their getting into places of Trust, by the Favour of the Duke of York ; two Bills were brought into the House of Commons : One, that no Papist should hold any Office Civil or Military, and the

other to disable them for sitting in either House of Parliament, with a Proviso that it should not extend to his Royal Highness. The Earl appear'd heartily for the Bills, and was not a little instrumental in their passing both Houses. The Duke of York after the first of those Acts past, laid down several great Offices, and the Papists in revenge form'd Attempts on the Lord Shaftsbury's Life. At their Consultations at Wild-House and the White-Horse-Tavern; 'twas resolv'd that the Duke of Monmouth, and the Earl of Shaftsbury should be taken off. But the general Popish Plot breaking out soon after, they had business enough on their Hands, to save themselves and their Friends from the Law; which awhile interrupted their Plots against the Earl. Yet there were not wanting some Persons of Quality to encourage and reward those who wrote or spoke ill of him. So high they were within Doors as well as without, that the Lord Digby, a Member of the House of Commons, swore he would have his Head; telling him he was no Friend to the King, but Seditious and a Republican. For which Words the Lord Shaftsbury brought his Action in the Kings-Bench, and had a 1000 Pounds Damages.

The Popish Plot broke out in September 1678, and the King declar'd in Parliament that the Jesuits had been tampering in a high

high Degree with Foreigners, and contriving how to introduce Popery amongst us. He acquainted them that he had been inform'd of a Design against his Person, by the same Persons, of which he would forbear any Opinion, lest he might seem to say too much or too little. The Papists took the most effectual Method to destroy the Credit of the Witnesses, and put a stop to the Prosecution of the Conspirators. They brought Indictments of horrid Crimes against the Evidences; but tho' they were clear'd, and the Prosecutors convicted of Perjury, yet it fix'd such a Stain on their Reputation, that it was thought downright Infatuation to give Credit to the Evidence of such Wretches. There were cautions from the Pulpit not to run hastily to extremities of Law. And to use the Words of Sir John Hawles, late Solicitor General in his Remarks on Fitzharris's Tryal, many of the Clergy of the Church of England had been prevail'd with to cry up the Popish as a Phanatick Plot. The Papists and the Church of England being in the late Times equally Sufferers and opprest by the Phanaticks, they naturally grew to have a Kindness for each other, and both joyn'd in hating the Fanatics, and therefore pretended at least that they did not believe any thing of the Popish Plot, but that that Report was given out by the Fanatics, whilst they themselves were designing something against

the Church of England. The Papists insulted the Magistrates who enquir'd narrowly into the Matter. Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was murder'd, according to the Verdict of the Coroners Inquest, and the King publish'd a Proclamation with 500*l.* Reward to discover the Murderers, who were afterwards apprehended, convicted, and hang'd. Mr. *Arnold* a Member of Parliament, was assaulted by the Conspirators ; and Sir *William Walker* ridicul'd for his Zeal in hunting after the Plotters. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* encourag'd him and others in the Commission of the Peace, to discharge their Duty, by his Example ; and the Parliament who were the best Judges of the Truth of the Plot, came to this Resolution on the 1st. of November 1678.

*Resolv'd Nemine Contradicente,*

*That upon the Evidence that hath already appear'd to this House, this House is of Opinion that there hath been and still is a Damnable Hellish Plot contriv'd and carry'd on by Recusants for assassinating and murdering the King, subverting the Government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant Religion. Whether the Design against the Kings Person was any thing more than Grimace, is left to the World to judge; but that there was a Conspiracy to hasten the introducing the Popish Religion, that Coleman held a tray-  
terous*

terous Correspondence with *Pere la Chaise* the French King's Confessor, no body doubts, that does not wish the Design had succeeded. Had not the Prosecutors of the Plot met with many Discouragements, it would not have been now so much a Mystery; yet there is enough prov'd to convince all reasonable People, that as Mr. Dryden says, the Folly is as great to think it all false, as that it was all true.

*That Plot the Nations Curse,  
Bad in itself, but represented worse;  
Succeeding Times did equal Folly call,  
Believing nothing, or believing all.*

*Abs. and Achit.*

We have in part shewn what Arts the Papists and their Confederates us'd to stifle the Plot; it remains to relate how industrious the Fanaticks were to improve it. Ever since the Court took off their Indulgence, they cry'd out aloud that the Duke of York being a Papist, the Protestant Religion was in Danger, the Peoples Liberties invaded; that the Long Parliament were Pensioners, and intended to destroy the Rights of the Subject at once, by selling their Priviledge of choosing a Representative to the Court; that the Clause inserted in a Bill to invest the King with a Power to raise Money on Extraordinary Occasions, of which

himself was to be Judge, was thrown out of the Bill but by a small Majority; and that 'twas plain the Duke of York and the Ministry intended to set up an Arbitrary and despotic Government; and bring in Popery and Slavery on the Nation. The Press furnish'd City and Country with Libels against his Royal Highness, and the Ministers of State. And the Infection spread every where; all the Conversation of the Town ran on the *Growth of Popery*, nothing was to be heard of but Massacres and Invasions, and *Coleman* a Domestick of the Duke of York being found to be concern'd the most deeply of any Body in the Conspiracy, they could not forbear reflecting on his Royal Highness. The more difficulty the Prosecutors met with they grew the more zealous, and the Papists in their Despair by the Murders they committed and attempted, confirm'd the Evidence of *Oats* and *Tongue*. *Tho'*, says Sir John Hawles in the aforesaid Remarks, very little of the Truth of the Popish Plot depended on the Credit of Oats, Bedloe, or any other Person; most of the Facts of that Design, when discover'd proving themselves.

We have been the longer on this Conspiracy to shew what Grounds the Lord Shaftsbury and other Gentlemen, had for their Industry to have it discover'd. Nothing could be more grateful to the People than

than the Care they pretended to have of their Religion and Liberties, and if this Lord aim'd at Popularity he took the right Way to it. The Heat of the Long Parliament in the busines of the Plot alarm'd the Popish Party, and the discovery awaken'd those Members, who for almost eighteen years had been lull'd asleep with the Charm of Gold. They began to look about them, and to think of Grievances, a word which always sounded harsh in the Ears of that Ministry. They shut up their Purses, and open'd their Mouths, and entring too far in the Dispute about the danger of a Popish Successor, the King took his Royal Highness's Interest so much to Heart, that he dissolv'd his *Giving Parliament* the 14th. of June 1679. after they had sat from the 8th. of May 1661. to that day Seventeen years, eight months and seventeen days; and Writs were issu'd out to call another to sit at *Westminster* the 6th. of *March*. Before their meeting the Duke was order'd to leave the Court, and went with his Duchess to *Flanders*. At the opening of the Session the Earl of *Shaftsbury* made that famous Speech, known by a Quotation out of holy Scripture, *We have a little Sister, and she has no Breasts, what shall we do for our Sister in the day when she shall be spoken for, and we have several little Sisters without Breasts?* the French Protestant Churches, the two Kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland.

The Protection of the Protestants Abroad, is the greatest Power and Security the Crown of England can attain, and which can help us to give a Check to the growing Greatness of France. Scotland and Ireland are two Doors, either to let in Good or Mischief upon us. Popery and Slavery, like two Sisters go Hand in Hand; sometimes the one goes first, sometimes the other; but wherever the one enters, the other is always following close at the Heels. In England Popery was to have brought in Slavery. In Scotland Slavery went before, and Popery was to follow, &c. His Majesty had already sent away his Royal Brother, and farther to please the Fanatick Party, he dissolv'd his Privy-Council, and chose a new one. The Earl of Shaftsbury was made Lord President, his Highness Prince Rupert, the Earl of Anglesey Lord Privy-Seal, Duke of Monmouth, Marques of Winchester, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Bridgewater, Earl of Essex, Lord Halifax, Lord Viscount Falconberg, Lord Roberts, Lord Hollis, Lord Russel, Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Temple, Henry Powl, Esquire, were call'd to this Council, and the Ministers thought this wou'd satisfie the Party against the Duke of York, without a Bill of Exclusion; for these Noblemen and Gentlemen were Favourers of that side, and they might be sure of no Oppression while they had the Majority at the Council-Board.

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The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was once more in one of the highest Stations of the Government, yet when the Bill of Exclusion was in agitation, he declar'd himself for it, and continu'd to prosecute the discovery of the Popish Plot with great earnestness. The Papists to impose on his Zeal, wrote to their Friends in *Ireland* to send them over some Fellows that wou'd swear to a Plot, which they wou'd make ready for them in *England*, and *Hetherington*, the two *Macnamaras*, and others were dispatch'd, who engag'd to answer the Expectations of the Faction in all things that they requir'd of them. These new Evidences they order'd to apply to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with the discovery of a pretended Plot in *Ireland*, where the *French* were to make an Invasion, and joyn with the Catholicks to destroy the Protestants, and put that Kingdom into the *French* King's Hands. The Earl, either to make something of it towards confirming the *English* Popish Plot, or believing there was really such a Design, too easily admitted those *Irish* Men to bring him their Informations, which being found to be false, the Papists thought 'twou'd help to confound the Conspiracy in *England*, or at least that their *Irish* Evidence by their intimacy in the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Family might gain Credit, if they shou'd have any thing to swear against him, for which they waited an opportunity. The new

new Parliament gave the Ministers the same Fears and Jealousies as the last, and their meddling with the Succession offending the King, he dissolv'd them and summon'd another to meet the 17th of October. Most of the old Members were return'd, and there being no better hopes of this Parliament than the two last, when the day for their Sitting came, they were prorogu'd to the 26th of January, and from thence to the 5th of April 1680. and farther to the 21st of October, which increas'd the Discontents of the People, these Prorogations interrupting the enquiring into the Plot. Several Counties sent up Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament. The Earl of Shaftsbury was at the bottom of these Petitions, and he and his Party were so sure of the Parliament that they were impatient to have them Sit. Scarce a County or Corporation through the whole Kingdom but Petition'd, till they came so fast upon one another, that the Court was forc'd to put forth a Proclamation against Petitioning as Seditious; for which, when the Parliament met, the Lord Chief Justice North, Judge Jones, Sir Francis Withens, and Sir George Jefferies, Lawyers, who advis'd and drew the Proclamation, were voted *Betrayers of the undoubted Rights of the Subjects of England, guilty of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, &c.* In the Intervals of these Prorogations, the Earl of Shaftsbury continu'd his endeavours to disappoint the hidden Design

signs

signs of the Popish Faction. On the 2d. of June 1680. the Constables of the Hundred of *Ossulstone in Middlesex*, being defective in their Presentments of Papists, the Grand-Jury order'd them to make farther Presentments, and when they met again, a Bill to Indict the Duke of York for not coming to Church, was brought before them, with Reasons for his being Indicted, subscrib'd by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Earl of *Huntington*, Earl of *Clare*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Brandon*, Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Cooper*, Sir *John Cope*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Scroop How*, Sir *Rowland Gwynne*, Thomas *Thynne*, Esquire, William *Forrester*, Esq; John *Trenchard*, Esq; *Wandsford*, Esq; While the Jury were in debate of the Indictment, the Court of King's Bench sent for them up, and dismiss'd them. On the 30th. of July the Lords and Gentlemen presented the same to a second Grand-Jury, who were discharg'd as the former. This bold proceeding so exasperated the Papists, that they resolv'd to strike at the Leaders of the Protestant Gentry, and take off the most noted of them at one Blow, and to set up a Fanatick Plot against their own. They took *Dangerfield* out of *Newgate*, and promis'd him Five hundred Pounds if he wou'd undertake to Murder the Lord *Shaftsbury*. He askt them why they were so Inveterate against the Earl? They answer'd

answer'd, if they were as well rid of him as of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, 'twou'd be no difficult thing to deal with the rest of their Enemies. The Lord P——s said 'twas easie to take him off, for that his Man Wood had been at *Thanet House* (where the Earl of *Shaftsbury* liv'd) and had observ'd there were many Conveniences to escape. *Dangerfield* had ten *Guineas* giv'n him in Hand, and one *Regaut*, a Trader to *Virginia*, was to pay him the Five hundred Pounds when the Deed was done. This *Regaut* was an acquaintance of Mrs. *Cellier* (a Popish Mid-wife) who being dissatisfy'd with *Dangerfield*'s attempting the Murder twice, and miscarrying in it, undertook to do it herself, and as *Dangerfield* had done, went to *Thanet-House* on the same bloody Errand; but was prevented by the Earls Caution not to trust himself with Persons who came on suspicious Messages, as they did.

Their next contrivance was to fix a Plot on him, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Monmouth*, the Lords *Grey* and *Howard*, with several others the Chief of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry, among the latter was Colonel *Mansel*. *Dangerfield* having found out this Gentleman's Lodgings, took Chambers in the same House, and plac'd a Packet of Papers behind *Mansell's* Bed, in which was a Roll of Soldiers, pretended to be listed, and a Project of an intended Insurrection.

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The principal Persons in this Conspiracy, were the Lady P——s and Mrs. Cellier; when 'twas ripe for Discovery, and the Papers were plac'd, *Dangerfield* went to the King, being introduc'd by Mr. Chaffinch. He told his Majesty of the pretended Plot, and desir'd Warrants to search Colonel *Mansel's* Lodgings. The King sent him to Secretary Coventry, who liking neither the Information nor the Informer, and suspecting some Treachery in it, refus'd to grant the Warrants till he had better Satisfaction in the matter. Then *Dangerfield* went to some Custom-House-Officers, and inform'd 'em that there were Prohibited Goods in such a place, where, upon search, the Papers were taken out, which he had before put behind the Bed, *Dangerfield* presently cries out *Treason*, and wou'd have had the Papers, but the Officers carry'd them to the Commissioners of the Customs, and on Colonel *Mansel's* complaint to the Board for rifling his Lodging; they were all restor'd him. The Colonel having early information of the Fraud, went immediately to the King and Council, and produc'd Witnesses to prove that *Dangerfield* plac'd the Papers behind his Bed, upon which he was committed to Newgate, where fearing Coleman's Fate, he confess'd the whole Intrigue to Sir Robert Clayton, then Lord-Mayor, who took his Affidavits, and carry'd them to the King. *Dangerfield* was on this brought again before the Council and

and examin'd, and having charg'd the Earl of *Castlemain*, *Gadbury* the Almanack-maker, *Cellier*, and *Regaut* with the Conspiracy, they were all seiz'd and committed to Prison. *Gadbury* offer'd to make some great Discovery if he might have his Pardon, which when the Lord *Shaftsbury* heard, he desir'd no Pardon might pass the Seal for *Gadbury*, till he had been heard in Council, however he was pardon'd ; yet no Discovery came out as he had promis'd. The Project of the Presbyterian Plot failing, the Faction prevail'd on the *Portugal* Ambassador *de Freitas*, to persuade his Interpreter *de Feria* to kill the Lord *Shaftsbury*, by throwing a Granado into his Coach, which *de Feria* depos'd at the Bar of the House of Commons. Then they corrupted *Blood*, who stole the Crown, and attack'd the Duke of *Ormond*, to write a treasonable Letter to Dr. *Oats*, which might prove that the Earls of *Essex* and *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Wharton*, and other Protestant Peers were contrivers of the Popish Plot, which Letter was to have been seiz'd, and produc'd in Evidence against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and those they intended to destroy ; But *Oats's* Caution to send the Letter to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Secretary of State, spoilt this Design. They then sent one *Lewis* to the Earl, to desire him to give some Directions to *Oats* under his Hand, how the Doctor shou'd manage himself with reference

reference to the Plot. The Earl absolutely deny'd to do any such thing, and having fail'd again; they procur'd young Tongue, to Witness that Dr. Tongue, his Father, the Earl of Shaftsbury and Oats, invented the Popish Plot. One of the Lords of the Coun-cil ask'd him, *If they contriv'd Coleman's Letters too?* Which Question confounded the new Anti-Evidence, and the Fraud appear'd so plain, that it ended only in the Fellows ruin; who, for his Impudence in endeavouring to impose on the Privy-Coun-cil at the Expence of the Earl of Shaftsbury's Life, was committed to the King's-Bench-Prison, where he remain'd many years in a miserable condition. Add to all these wicked devices the forging of the Earl's Hand, their intercepting his Letters, opening them, and inserting Treason in a counterfeit Hand, as near as cou'd be to the Original. These the Conspirators directed to such Persons as they were sure wou'd carry them to the Secretary of State. A certain Gentleman, who had been a Colonel of Horse in King Charles I. Army, and was then in mean Cir-cumstances in the French King's Dominions, wrote to the Earl a remedy against the Gout. His Enemies open'd the Letter, and added to it, as a Postscript, *That he had Forty Thousand Men ready to oppose the Duke of York's Interest.* With this Addition the Let-ter was carry'd to the French Ministers of State,

State, in hopes that they wou'd send a Copy of it to *England*; but by a strange Accident 'twas return'd to the Gentleman who wrote it to the Earl, and the mischief intended was prevented. Though their Malice was unconquerable, they have not yet shown any of that Art and Dexterity which they might have learn'd from the Jesuits, who are not us'd to blunder thus when an Enemy is in the way. By the weakness of their Designs, one may perceive they were carry'd on by Women. The Lady *P—s*, Mrs. *Cel-tier*, and one *Wall*, a Woman of ill Fame belonging to the Duchess of *Forts-mouth*; these engag'd *Fitzharris* and *Regant* in the Conspiracy, and under a Meal-Tub in *Cel-liers House*, the whole Scheme of their Contrivance to bring the Dissenters into a Plot against the King's Person, and his Royal Highness, was found out among other Treasonable Papers.

For, the Conspirators, as the late Solicitor-General observes, perceiving that *That which gave Credit to the Popish Plot*, was writing concurring with *Oral Testimony*. To instance in one, Oates discover'd Coleman had *Intelligence with La Chaise* of a design on *England*, and that Coleman had *Papers testifying as much when those Papers were seiz'd*, and own'd by Coleman, and the purport of them was what Oates said they were. It was not material whether Oates was a *Man of Truth*,

Truth or not, the Papers, without Oates's further Evidence, sufficiently prov'd the Design. I say, the Papists having observ'd what the Evidence was, which gave Credit to the Plot, resolv'd to pursue the same steps, and therefore Dangerfield was made use of to leave Papers in Colonel Mansell's Lodgings, who was an Acquaintance of the Earl of Shaftsbury, importing a Plot. The Protestant Party were verily uneasy that the Parliament did not sit, and the Chief of them resolv'd once more to petition, for they fancy'd there was a Design by these Prorogations to put off the Prosecution of the Popish Peers, and hinder the detection of the Sham-Presbyterian Plot. The Earl of Huntington, Earl of Clare, Earl of Stamford, Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord North and Gray, Lord Chandois, Lord Grey of Wark, Lord Herbert, Lord Howard, sign'd and deliver'd a Petition for the Parliaments Sitting; they were introduc'd by his Highness Prince Rupert. His Majesty answer'd them, He wou'd consider of what they offer'd, and heartily wish'd all other People were as solicitous for the Peace and Good of the Nation as he was. The Earl of Shaftsbury had at this time some difference with the Lord Halifax, who till now was as forward as the Earl against the Duke's Succession; but either out of Pique to the Earl, or being convinc'd that the Phanaticks push'd things too far, or in expectation of the

Honours and Offices to which he was afterwards advanc'd, he openly abandon'd that Party, and struck in with the Dukes. He was a Nobleman of great Qualifications, and disputed with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* the Character of the finest Statesman in *England*. 'Twas not probable that two Persons, who cou'd not bear to have any Councils prefer'd to their own, shou'd long agree, or continue of a side. The consequence of this Lord's Desertion was very prejudicial to the Phanatick Party; for he having been a zealous Prosecutor of the Plot, and now growing cool in the matter, many others follow'd his example; and though nothing cou'd be prov'd on the Presbyterians, yet they had suffer'd so much that People were easily inclin'd to believe they were fond of a Change; and among the rest a Reverend Prelate, who was one of the Close Committee to inquire into the Murder of Sir Edmund *Godfrey*, said, *There was a Popish Plot, but there was also a greater Design carrying on by the Forty-One Party.* From these Divisions arose the unhappy distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* among the People of *England*, who before distinguish'd themselves, as they ought to do now, by *Protestant* and *Papist*. For though the Protestants were in derision stil'd Phanaticks, yet not one in ten of the Noblemen and Gentlemen who were of that Party, were Dissenters from the Church of

*Englund,*

England, which will appear by examining the Roll taken from under the Meal-Tub. During these Prorogations, the Catholicks set upon *Dugdale* one of the Witnesses of the Popish Plot, to retract his Evidence; he gave the Lord *Shaftsbury* an account of their Offers and Demands. Two thousand Pounds were to be the Price of his Perjury, and *Dugdale* did not continue a long while Proof against so fair a Temptation. The Lord *Shaftsbury's* Party in the Council, finding every thing go against them there, desir'd leave to withdraw, and accordingly the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Rushell*, the Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powr* were excus'd Attendance, and in October the Parliament met. The King in his Speech advis'd to go on to discover the Plot, and bring the Lords to a Tryal; these were the Lords *Powis*, *Stafford*, *Arundel*, *Petre*, and *Bellasis*, who were accus'd of being in the Plot, and had lain a long time in the Tower. In December the Lord *Stafford* was try'd by his Peers. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* assisted at the Tryal, and gave his Vote for his Conviction. The Lords by a great majority brought him in Guilty of High Treason, for which he receiv'd Sentence to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd. His Charge was for Conspiring with the Pope and his Emissaries to Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and Subvert the Government of these

Kingdoms. The Rigour of the Sentence, as 'tis usual for Persons of his Quality, was remitted, and he dy'd on a Scaffold on Tower Hill, shewing at his death more signs of Weakness, than either Guilt or Innocence. The Lord *Russel* this Session brought in the Bill of Exclusion into the House of Commons, and it pass'd the House. The same Lord carry'd it up to the House of Peers, who threw it out. However his Majesty was so displeas'd with the Commons for their meddling with the Succession, which he forbad them in his Speech, that he dissolv'd them the 18th. of *January*, and summon'd another to meet at *Oxford* the 22d. of *March*. This the Peers thought a very improper place for their meeting, and that they shou'd there be too much in the power of the Dukes Party, who had the Guards at their disposal, and there were so many notorious Papists among them, that 'twoud terrifie the Members, and deprive them of that Liberty in speaking, which is essential to an *English* Parliament. The Lords petition'd his Majesty to have the Session at *Westminster*, and the Earl of *Essex* made a handsome Speech to the King on that Subject, when he deliver'd the Petition, which was subscrib'd by the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Kent*, Earl of *Huntington*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Clare*, Earl of *Stamford*, Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Merdant*, Lord

Lord *Eure*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Howard*, Lord *Delamere*. The King's Answer was a Confirmation of his Resolution to have the Session at *Oxford*. Some time before the meeting of the Parliament, *Fitzharris's* Affair made a noise in the World. He was the Son of Sir *Edward Fitzharris*, an *Irish Papist*, and was employ'd by the Popish Faction, in Conjunction with one *Everard*, to write a treasonable Paper, and to disperse it by the Penny-Post to some Protestant Lords, and leading Men of the House of Commons. *Everard* acquainted Sir *William Waller*, and Mr. *Aaron Smith* with this horrid Conspiracy, and Sir *William*, being plac'd by him in a Room unseen by *Fitzharris*, saw him write several things, part of the Libel, and particularly, *That it was in the Peoples Pow'r to depose a Popish Posseessor, as well as a Popish Successor.* The Commons, when they met at *Oxford*, resolv'd to have this Matter sifted into, and to hear his Confessions, which he promis'd on assurance of Pardon. They brought an Impeachment against him, and sent it up to the Lords by *Jenkins* Secretary of State, who said, *it reflected on his Master*, and refus'd to carry it up, till he found the House began to call him to the Bar, and he fear'd what might follow. This Impeachment was mov'd by a Member of the House of Commons, to prevent *Fitzharris's* being try'd by the

Judges. He gave them an Instance of one *Hubert*, who confess'd himself guilty of firing the City of *London*, upon which the Parliament then Sitting resolv'd to examin him the next morning, but before the House Sat *Hubert* was hang'd. The Lords threw out the Impeachment, and the King, a Week after the Session open'd, dissolv'd the Parliament, who were also going on a Bill of Exclusion. The King went presently to *Windfor*, and the same night to *White-Hall*, and never after call'd another Parliament. Several of the House of Peers enter'd their Protestation against the Lords rejecting *Fitzharris's* Impeachment, and asserted the Commons right to Impeach any Subject. These were the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Kent*, Earl of *Huntington*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Clare*, Earl of *Stamford*, Earl of *Sunderland*, Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Macclesfield*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Mordant*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Cornwallis*, Lord *Crew*. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* return'd to *London* soon after his Majesty, having first presented *Baliol* College with a piece of Plate for their Respect and Civility to him while he was at *Oxford*. The hast which King *Charles* made to *London*, was reported to be occasion'd by his Fears of being seiz'd at *Oxford*. Soon after the Lord *Shaftsbury's* return to *London*, one

*Bryan*

*Bryan Hans* came to him, and assur'd him he cou'd give great light in the matter of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey's Murder, if he might have his Pardon. The Earl endeavour'd to get one, but it cou'd not be obtain'd. *Hans* being taken and carry'd before the Council, accus'd the Earl, with other Noblemen and Gentlemen, of attempting to stubborn him to do it, and on the Information of this *Irish* Evidence, the Lord Shaftsbury was apprehended at his House in Alder-gate-street, and on the 2d. of July, 1681, committed to the Tower for High Treason. To clear this business, we must look back to the *Oxford* Parliament, which met there much against their minds. The Members were apprehensive that they might have a Force put upon them, and went thither attended by their Tenants and Servants, and some by their Electors arm'd; among the rest the Earl of Shaftsbury was waited upon to Oxford by his Friends and Followers. Poor Colledge (a Joyner, and a busie Man) was one of them, and it cost him dear. Captain Wilkinson was another, and the Popish Faction wou'd have improv'd it to a Charge of High Treason against the Lord Shaftsbury, had not Wilkinson resisted all their Temptations and Offers, though he was a Prisoner for Debt in the King's Bench. Colledge was taken up, and an Indictment of High Treason Exhibited against him to the Grand-

Jury of *London*, who return'd *Ignoramus* on the Bill. *Colledge* was remov'd to *Oxford*, where he was there Try'd, Convicted and Executed; but by what Illegal means this Man was brought to his end we shall not report. The Reader may find a large account of them in Sir *John Hawles's* Remarks on *Colledge's Tryal*.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury's* turn came next. He had presented several Petitions, after his Commitment, for a Tryal or Bail, according to the *Habeas Corpus Act*, but he cou'd not be heard till the 24th. of *November*, and then a Bill of High Treason was preferr'd to the Grand-Jury at the Sessions-House in the *Old Bayly*. The same Judge who had been at *Oxford* to try *Colledge*, and most of the Twelve Judges were present, and the full appearance of the Benches, were said to be with an intention to awe the Jury, who were many of them Members of Parliament, most of them Magistrates of the City. Sir *John Mordaunt*, Sir *Humphrey Edwyn*, Sir *Leonard Robinson*, Sir *Edmund Harrison*, Mr. *Papillon*, Mr. *Rudge*, Mr. *Godfrey*, &c. Eminent Merchants were of the Number; Sir *Samuel Bernardiston*, Foreman. The Witnesses were the *Magnamarras*, and one *Booth*, who swore High Treason against the Earl, and that Captain *Wilkinson* was to have been Captain of a Troop of Horse in the Army, which the Lord *Shaftsbury* was to raise. Whether the Earl of *Shaftsbury*

Shaftsbury had form'd any Designs against that Ministry, whether his Resentment and Ambition might not animate him so far as to have thoughts of altering the Constitution, and setting up another, wherein he might have the greatest share in the Government, is what we dare not undertake to determine; but that the Ministers had proof enough for an Indictment, and that all the Proceedings against him were not irregular and illegal we cannot but question, and from the Remarks of the late Solicitor General, we shall report the Case with all the fairness and impartiality in the World. Mr. Blaithwaite and Mr. Gwynne, swore that the Papers produc'd in Court were taken in the Lord Shaftsbury's House, and Sir Lionel Jenkins depos'd that one of them, which was the Project of an Association, was the same Paper unalter'd, that Mr. Blathwaite gave him, *which writing*, says the Solicitor, *was no manner of Evidence of Treason*, admitting what the Witnesses swore as to the finding it to be true; because it was not prov'd that it was Prosecuted or Compos'd by the Earl of Shaftsbury, or by his order, and that piece of Evidence was in that particular a meer Original: besides Booth, and the Macnamarra's, Turberville, swore that the Lord Shaftsbury said about February, *There was little good to be done to the King, as long as his Guards were about him.* Smith, that the Earl shou'd say, *If the King shou'd*

shou'd offer any Violence to the Parliament at Oxford, he wou'd meet with a strong Opposition, &c. and Haynes, that he said, *The Duke of Buckingham had as much right to the Crown as any Stuart in England.* The Jury consider'd Wilkinson's Depositions before the King, giving a large account of the Intrigue carry'd on by Booth, to engage him to be an Evidence against the Earl of Shaftsbury. Booth was a Fellow of an infamous Character; he had been Condemn'd for Clipping and Coining, and there was no Villany which he had not been guilty of. Wilkinson had formerly been an Officer in King Charles and his Father's Service. He was very Instrumental in the Restauration, and had spent a good Estate in supporting the Royal Cause, as far as it lay in his power, and not meeting those Rewards he thought he deserve'd, he took a disgust at the Ministry, but always preserv'd his Duty to the King inviolate. Booth had some small acquaintance with him in Yorkshire, and hearing when Wilkinson came to London, that the Earl of Shaftsbury, one of the Proprietors of the Colony of Carolina, had procur'd a Commission to be Governour of half that Colony, he apply'd himself to Wilkinson for an Employ under him. Wilkinson accepted of his Service, and gave him Money to provide him necessaries for the Voyage, which he waled; and Wilkinson himself having contracted

tracted more Debts than he could well discharge, was arrested a few days before he intended to embark. He turn'd himself over to the Kings-Bench, where *Booth* came to him to tempt him to evidence against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. *Wilkinson* told one Major *James* in the Prison from time to time what *Booth* said to him, and desir'd him to write it down; that if ever the Offers made to him should so far prevail over his Wants, as to tempt him to witness against the Earl, *James* might be ready to attest that all he said was false: So fearful was *Wilkinson* to trust his Necessities. *Graham* a Solicitor in these bad Causes came to him and confirm'd what *Booth* had promis'd him, that he should have 500*l.* a year for his Evidence. They carry'd him before the King and he confess'd the whole Intrigue to his Majesty, and his Depositions were Evidence that all the Witnesses except what were to the Paper, were to be question'd. Sir John *Hawles* says farther, who could believe any thing Turberville, Smith, or Haynes should say, when there was so much of their Falshoods, and of their Designs to swear falsely, prov'd against them in College's Tryal; as also of Ivy, and the Macnamarra's? Who could believe *Booth*'s Story of listing so many Men under *Wilkinson*, to be at my Lord Shaftsbury's dispose at Oxt顿, after Colledges Tryal, and after what Wil-

Wilkinson had testified? Besides these he adds many other Reasons in Law, of equal Force, and closes all thus. *The Grand-Jury*, (tho' some of them afterwards smarted for it upon other pretences) did like honest understanding Gentlemen; and had they done otherwise to avoid the Ignominy of being call'd, (tho' in truth it was an Honour to be) an Ignoramus Jury, they had justly deserv'd the Reproach, which since has lighted on other Juries; such as Mr. Cornish's, and the like. The People were generally so well satisfy'd, that the Spite of the Papists, was grounded on the Lord Shaftsbury's apparent Zeal for their Religion and Liberties; that they publickly rejoyc'd in his deliverances. Bonfires were made in City and Country: *Graham* who marshall'd the Irish Evidence, had much ado to scape the Fury of the enraged Multitude. The Judges, (as they said afterwards in *Graham's Tryal*) were affronted as they sat on the Bench.

The Earl being clear'd by the Grand-Jury, mov'd to be discharg'd, but cou'd not obtain it, till the end of the next Term. When he was free, he arrested *Graham*, and his Accusers, as his Declararion sets forth, *For Conspiring to Indict him of High Treason, for which they solicited Wilkinson to give false Testimony against the said Earl, &c.* The Defendants mov'd that they might not be try'd in *London*, because the Sheriffs, Mr. Pilkin-

ton, and Mr. Shute, were the Lord Shaftsbury's Friends, the Judges allow'd their Plea, and the Earl wou'd not try his Cause elsewhere.

After the Prosecution of the Earl, the *Quo Warranto* was brought against the City, and Mr. North and Rich were in an extraordinary manner made Sheriffs. The report of the Presbyterian Plot, and the Rye-House Conspiracy growing hot, the Earl thought he cou'd no where be so safe as in *Holland*, where he arriv'd in the beginning of December 1682. after a tempestuous Voyage at Sea. On his arrival at *Amsterdam*, he was visited by the States Deputies, and other Persons of Quality. He hir'd a fine House at the rent of One hundred and fifty pounds a year, and was preparing to live answerable to his Character and Estate, when his old Distemper, the Gout, seiz'd him, which flying upwards to his Stomach, soon became Mortal, and on the 22d. of *January* he expir'd in the Arms of his Chaplain, in the Sixty second Year of his Age. His Body was Embalm'd, and transported into *England*. The Ship was hung with Mourning, and the Corps being landed at *Pool* in *Devonshire*; the Gentlemen of that County, without any invitation went to meet it, and accompany'd it to *Wimbourn St. Giles*, his Ancient Seat, where he was interr'd with his Noble Ancestors. By his second Wife, the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the Earl of *Exeter*,

ter, he left one Son, *Anthony* late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who by the Lady *Dorothy*, Daughter to *John* Earl of *Rutland*, had the present *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who with an unblemish'd Reputation resembles his Grandfather, as much in the rare Qualities of his Mind, as he is like him in Person.

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*James, Duke of Monmouth.*

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P A R T II.

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WE shall conclude our History with the Life of this Unfortunate Prince, which takes in all the Military Actions of his Father King *Charles*, and his Uncle King *James*, his Reign, except the Engagements at Sea, of which we have given a large Account in the Lives of the Duke of *Albemarl* and Admiral *de Ruyter*. We know very well how far the World are prepossess'd in their

their Opinion of him, to his prejudice ; that he has been always represented as a Person of little Wit or Judgment, and some have endeavour'd to lessen his Character of Generous and Brave, by calling him Rash and Extravagant. But we hope the Impartial Reader will find events enough in the following Pages, to justify the Care and Pains of the Authors in Transmitting 'em to posterity. And besides the Convenience of his Story to our general design of making the History of *England* in some Measure compleat, we shou'd be unjust to his Memory, had we past 'em over in Silence.

*James, Duke of Monmouth*, was the Eldest and best belov'd Son of King *Charles the Second*, by Mrs. *Lucy Walters* of *Pembrokeshire* in *Wales*. He was born at *Rotterdam* the 9th of *April 1649*. just 10 Weeks after the Murder of his Grandfather King *Charles the First*. The King, his Father, was then in *Holland* waiting an Opportunity to recover his Kingdoms, which were Ravish'd from him by the Army in *England*. His Majesty had some reasons to keep the Birth of his Son private, so he was lodg'd at Mr. *Glyffen's* House, a Merchant at *Schiedam*, about a Mile from *Rotterdam*, with an *English* Nurse, and Servants to attend him. Mrs. *Walters* liv'd with Mrs. *Harvey* at *Rotterdam*, who was Mother to the famous Dr. *Harvey*, to whom we owe the discovery of

of the Circulation of the Blood. The Pension King *Charles* allow'd Mrs. *Walters* was so considerable, that she liv'd in great Plenty and Splendour; for his Majesty lov'd this Mistress, with a Passion far different from his Inclination to the rest that succeeded her in his Affections, as indeed she deserv'd to be better belov'd. Her Complacency for the King was her only Crime, and he was a Prince who had so many good Qualities to Charm the Fair, that a Woman must have been very Insensible not to be touch'd with 'em, when he was in the Flower of his Youth. He was scarce Eighteen Years of Age when he fell in Love with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, and his Passion was so violent, that he was sick with it, or so pretended to be, and he was too young, and his Youth had been too much employ'd in the Business of the Field, to have learnt the Artifices of Lovers to impose on the Sex. We have heard another Character of Mrs. *Walters*, and that she was not a Woman so difficult as to make a Monarch sick for her, but it came from her Son's Enemies, and was intended as an Affront on his Memory.

The young Prince had not been long at *Schiedam* before one of his Mother's Gentlemen carry'd off both the Child and his Nurse, pretending to Mr. *Ghyssens*, that his Lady had given him such Orders. For what

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and the Traytor did it we cannot imagine, when the News came to Mrs. *VValters*, she posted away to *Maeſland Sluce*, whither she suppos'd the Child was remov'd by contrivance of the King's Enemies in *England* to be Transported thither, there having been some inquiry made after him a few days before; she Rode all Night, and arriv'd at the place next Morning, just as Mr. *Newport*, one of the Lords of the State, and Ambassador to the Parliament of *England*, was taking Boat for the *Hague*, with the Burgo-master of *Maeſland*; the Lady made her Applications to Mr. *Newport*, telling him of the wrong she suffer'd, and Imploring his Protection for her Self and her Son, giving him to know their Relation to the King of *England*. Mr. *Newport* immediately order'd strict search to be made for the Infant, and that no Boats shou'd go off without it. Tho' Mrs. *VValters* made large Offers to those who shou'd discover where he was conceal'd, yet all their Industry and Inquiry cou'd not bring him to light till 9 or 10 days after, when he was found at *Loosdymen*, abandon'd by the Gentleman that took him from *Schiedam*. This ditcovery was joyful News for his Mother, who, that she might have no more such fears about him, hir'd a fine House at *Boscal*, and took him Home.

The next Year 1650. the Presbyterians in Scotland call'd King *Charles* to that Crown, of which he went to take Possession, and having prevail'd with the Queen Mother *Henrietta Maria* to accept of the Charge, he Commanded the Child to be brought to *Paris*, and left him to the Care of his Grandmother. He went there by the Name of *James Crofts*, and bore it till his Majesty's Restoration. The Queen Committed him to the keeping of one Mr. *Goffe*, her Servant, and *Goffe* recommended Mrs. *Miles*, a Gentlewoman of her Family, to be his Nurse. He was bred up by them till her Majesty Assign'd him *Thomas Ross* Esq; afterwards Secretary to Mr. *Coventry* Ambassador to the King of *Sweden*, Keeper of the King's Liberties, and Groom of the Privy Chamber, for his Governor. His Beauty, his Mien and Behaviour, even in his Years of Infancy and Childhood were Graceful and Majestick, and Charm'd all that saw him.

When he was taken from Mr. *Goff*, and put into the Hands of his Governor, his Mother return'd to *England*, and in the Year 1656. was seiz'd by a special Warrant from Oliver *Cromwell*, then Protector, as a Spy. She continu'd several Months in the Tower, and was at last discharg'd on the 12th of July. The Officer who took her, found about her a Grant from King *Charles* for 5000 Pounds a Year Pension, and a Promise of

better Provision for her, when he was in a Capacity to make it. *Whitlock* Writes in his Memorials, that she had a Son with her which she affirm'd to be King *Charles's*, and pretended to be his Wife, which we believe must be a mistake of the Authors, for the Duke of *Monmouth* came not into *England* till the Year 1662. and we never heard of any other Son that the King had by Mrs. *Walters*. Had *Oliver* believ'd what she affirm'd to be true, he wou'd not have let her go so easily.

In the Year 1657. Mr. *Ross* took a House and liv'd with the Prince at *Julen*, 7 Leagues from *Paris*, where he had Masters to teach him all Exercises fit for his Quality. His Genius for War then show'd its self in the great delight he took in Vaulting, Riding and Arms.

After his Majesty's Restauration in 1660. he order'd Mr. *Ross* to dismiss his Son's old Servants, and take others into his Service, who were more worthy that Honour, and two Years after he was, by the King's Command, brought to Court. He Embark'd at *Calice* in July 1662. and Landed at *Dover*: When he arriv'd the King was at *Hampton Court*, and thither he went to wait on his Majesty, who receiv'd him with all possible demonstrations of Joy and Tenderness; when he return'd to *Whitehall* he order'd an Apartment to be fitted up for his Son

Son in the Privy Gallery ; he had Gentlemen and Pages to attend him, an Equipage and a Train seperate from his Fathers, and a Pension suitable to his Birth. The same Year he was Created Duke of *Orkney*, in *Scotland*, and the 25th of *Feb.* Duke of *Monmouth*. He then took his Seat in the House of Peers, and in *April 1663*. he was Install'd Knight of the Garter with the usual Solemnities at *Windsor*. This Year the King, Queen and Court went in Progress to *Oxford*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* was Incorporated Master of Arts in that University, as he had been before at *Cambridge*. At *Oxford* the Publick Orator presented him with an Elegant Speech, and in 1665 he was entred a Member in *Christ-Church College*. The same Year he was made Master of the Horse, and not long after the King thought fit to settle him in the World by providing him a rich Wife. The Lady was *Anne*, Daughter and Heir to *Francis Earl of Buccleugh in Scotland*, generally esteem'd the greatest Fortune in the Three Kingdoms, and as rich in Beauty as in Estate. The Match being propos'd to her Mother the Countess of *Wembs*, she joyfully accepted of the Proposals, and the Marriage was Celebrated with great Splendor. His Majesty gave him several other places of Honour and Profit, as General of his Land Forces, Captain of his Life Guards of Horse, Lord Lieutenant

nant of the East-riding of *Yorkshire*, Governor of the Town and Citadel of *Kingston upon Hull*, Chief Justice in *Eyre* on the South-side of *Trent*, and in the right of his Wife, Duke of *Buccleugh*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *Scotland*, on the 25th of April 1670. one of the Lords of the Privy Council; in *May* following he went with the Court to meet the Dutches of *Orleans* at *Dover*, where that Princess prevail'd on her Brother, King *Charles*, to enter into an Alliance with the French King against the Dutch, which, in the Year 1672, broke out into a Dreadful War. And 'twas on the breaking out of the Second Dutch War that the Nation began to be uneasy, and to Form Parties in opposition to the Ministry, That, as Dr. *Davenant* writes in a late Treatise, *the Wounds that were heal'd upon the Restauratiōn of King Charles the Second, open'd a fresh when it was seen he so far neglected the Interest of England, as to connive at, if not to assist the growth of France.* In the mean time the Duke of *Monmouth* began to grow considerable, as well by the Love of the People, as by the King, his Father's. He was the greatest Favourite, and enjoy'd that Happiness unenvy'd by all but his Unkle, the Duke of *Yorke's* Creatures. In all his Majesty's Pleasures and Progresses, the Duke of *Monmouth* made still the most shining and the most lovely Figure, and when, to serve his

his Father he was call'd into the Field, he soon distinguish'd himself, as much by his deeds of Arms, as he had done by his Gallantry and Deportment in time of Peace.

The King of *England*, by his Agreement with *Lewis* the XIVth. was to send 6000 Men into his Service, and maintain a great Fleet at Sea. The Duke of *Monmouth* was to Command the *English* and *Scots* in the French King's Army, and accordingly he arriv'd in the French Camp near *Charleroy* the latter end of April 1672. The King came thither on the 1st. of May, and on the 10th. the Army was drawn up for a Review.

A Detachment of 20000 Men, and a Train of Artillery, under the Viscount *de Turenne*, were sent tow'rds *Maastricht*, and the next day the French King follow'd with the body of the Army, accompany'd by the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Monmouth*. The Count *de Lorge* Invested the Place with 3000 Horse. But the King calling a great Council of War, at which the Duke of *Monmouth* assis'ted, 'twas there resolv'd to turn the intended Siege of *Maastricht* into a Blockade. So 20000 Men were left before it for that purpose, and the rest of the Army march'd to the *Rhine*. We need not enter here into the detail of this War, having giv'n so full a relation of it in the Life of the Prince of *Conde*; 'tis sufficient, in this place, to let the Reader know, the Duke of *Monmouth*

was at the taking of *Orfoy, Rhineberg, Wenzel, Emmerick, Doesburg, Zutphen*, and in the French King's Camp near *Utrecht*, when that City sent her Keys to the Conqueror. On the 5th. of *July* the Duke, with the English Noblemen and Gentlemen Volunteers in the French Army, went to view the Town, where they were honourable Entertain'd by the Magistrates. The 11th. of *July* the Army Broke up, and march'd back to *Flanders*, and the Campaign being over the King return'd to *St. Germains*, and the Duke to *England*, having taken Leave of the Monarch at *Boxtel*.

On his arrival at *London* he was receiv'd with universal Joy; for tho' the People dislik'd the War, yet they were pleas'd to hear how well their Hero behav'd himself in it. On the 25th. of *August* his Dutchess was deliver'd of a Son, who was Christen'd *Charles*, the King, and the Duke of *York*, standing for Godfathers, and the Countess of *Weems* for Godmother. The Child liv'd till the Year 1679, and then dying, left his Title of Earl of *Doncaster* to his Brother the Lord *James*, born the 23d. of *May* 1674.

In November the Duke went again to *France*, on News that the Prince of *Orange* was lain down before *Charleroy*, but the Prince leaving that Siege to attack *Bon, Flanders* was quiet the rest of the Winter.

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The Duke landed at *Calice*, and thence went to *Dourlens*, where his Regiment quarter'd. In his way thither the Duke *d'Eibeuf*, Governor of *Montrevil*, receiv'd him in an extraordinary manner. At *Beville* the Militia were drawn up, and the Mayor complimented him at the Gates. Near *Dourlens* the Governor met him with his Coaches, attended with 40 Horse. He waited upon him into the Town, Entertain'd him splendidly for five Days, and receiv'd the *Word* from him every Night. Here the Duke took a Review of his Regiment, which he found in good order, and well Disciplin'd: Thence he went to *Paris*, and so to *St. Germains*, where he was receiv'd by the King with particular Honours. He made no long stay at the *French* Court, but finding there was no likelihood of any sudden Action he return'd to *England*, and remain'd there till the Opening of the Campaign.

On the 14th of *April* 1673, he arriv'd at *Calais* a second time, and the Guns of the Town were fir'd for his Reception, the Soldiers were order'd to their Arms, and a numerous Train of Coaches waited on him to his Lodgings. Upon his return to *France* the *French* King made him a Lieutenant General of his Army, and allow'd him the usual Pension. The 27th of *April* he set out from *Calice* for the Court, with several Persons of Quality of his own Nation

tion in his Company, and a fine Equipage. At *Dourlens* he had the Keys of the Town presented him. At *Arras* the Governor lodg'd him in his House. At *Lifflé* the Magistrates Treated him ; he stay'd there a whole day to view the Cittadel, and in the Evening came to *Courtray*, where the French King was then in Person. The next Morning he enter'd on his Charge of Lieutenant General, and drew up the Army in Battalia for a Review, at which the King, Queen and Court were present. He perform'd it with so much Grace and Skil, that every one was pleas'd with him. The day after the Army decamp'd, the Duke leading it at the Head of the Cavalry. The next day he march'd at the Head of the Infantry, and manag'd his Command to the Pleasure and Admiratio[n] of the whole Court. On the 6th of June the Army appear'd before *Maestricht*, and Invested the Town, and on the 11th the King himself came to the Camp ; the Duke waited on him when he went to view the several Posts, and order'd the Line of Circumvallation to be drawn. Bridges of Communication were laid over the *Maes*, above and below the Town. The Duke of *Orleans* Quarter'd on the side of the *Wick*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* at the lower part of the Town, with a Body of 8000 Horse and Foot English, Scotch and French. This Post was of

great

great Consequence; 'twas resolv'd to open the Trenches on the 17th. Before the Morning 3 Batteries were finish'd, and mounted with 26 Pieces of Cannon, which ruin'd several of the Enemies Batteries. On the 20th the Duke Commanded in the Trenches. The *Dutch* made a very hot Fire that day, and the Weather was so Wet some of the Soldiers waded to the mid Leg, and others were blown up by the accidental Firing of some Barrels of Powder; yet the Duke boldly advanc'd within thirty Rod of the Counterscarp, and approaching so near 'twas agreed to Storm the Town, which was done in three several places. One Attack was a False one Commanded by the Duke of *Orleans*, who remain'd Master of the Outworks, and got to the side of the Moat, but that not being intended to be push'd on, his Men wanted Scaling Ladders, and other Instruments to follow the Victory. A second Attack was Commanded by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who order'd Monsieur *de Monbrum*, with the King's Regiment of Foot, and Monsieur *de Artagnan*, with the Company of Musqueteers, to give the Onset, which was Rude and Bloody on both sides. The *French* were supported by the *English* and *Scotch*, who presently, on a Signal giv'n, began the Assault, some Scal'd the Pallisadoes, others threw Granadoes, and the rest made a continual fire which the *Dutch* answer'd

fwer'd as warmly: However, the Duke drove forward with such irresistible Bravery, that he carry'd the Counterscarp, advanc'd to the Half-Moon before *Brussells*. Gate, and after a hot dispute won that also, tho' the Besieg'd blew up two Mines. Having gain'd the Half-Moon, he lodg'd his Men on it, and Commanded a Communication to be made between the Trenches and the Counterscarp, and between that and the Half-Moon, the Besieg'd Rein-trench'd themselves within the Half-Moon, intending to spring another Mine, which was discover'd, and a Man by it ready to set it on fire, one of the Duke's Servants kill'd the Man, and remov'd the Powder. This Mine was near the Duke's Person, who was reliev'd by the *French*, and the Besieg'd springing a Mine, and making a furious Sally, dislodg'd them from the Half-Moon and Counterscarp; the Duke loath to loose what he had won with so much hazard, accompany'd only with 12 *English* Volunteers, leapt over the Trench, and march'd thro' a Shower of Bullets to the Half-Moon, himself was the first Man that enter'd, Sir *Henry Jones* was kill'd by him, and King *Charles* gave his Regiment of Horse to the Duke, who recover'd the Half-Moon, and 'twas one of the boldest Actions in the War. He past thro' one of the Enemies Sally Ports, rally'd the *French*, and drove the *Dutch* once more from the

Half-Moon. He was releiv'd by Monsieur *de la Feuillade*. On the 27th, another Assaule was made on two Places at once, one by the Count *de Lorge*, on a Hornwork, on the Left-hand of the half Moon, the other by the Count *de Toureille*, on the Green half Moon, on the Right-hand of *Brussel-Gate* near the Water. The two Counts took the Half Moon and the Horn-Work. The Duke of *Monmouth* reliev'd Monsieur *de Lorge*, and not only maintain'd what he had won; but lodg'd himself within 10 Yards of the Ditch. The Dutch fir'd on him, with incredible Fury; they sprung 5 several Mines, and the Duke was in Danger of perishing by every one of them, yet to the Wonder of the King, and the whole Camp, he kept his Ground. The Lord *Allington*, who waited on him, was shot thro' the Thigh. Monsieur *de la Feuillade*, again reliev'd him, and the next Morning the Besieg'd beat a Parley, and on the 2d of July surrendere'd on Articles. The Duke and the English carry'd off the Honour of this Conquest; of which the French King was a Witness, tho' at a safe Distance from Danger. On the 3d, the King broke up from before *Maestricht*, and arriv'd at *Chastelet*, near *Charleroy* on the 4th; here the Duke took his Leave of Lewis the XIV, and return'd to *England*, by way of *Calais*; where he embark'd on a Yacht, which attended him, and on the 12th, he came to *Whitehall*.

The

The Campaign ending with the Siege of *Maastricht*, he stay'd at Court, all the following Winter, and King *Charles* began to grow weary of his Confederate the *French King*.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, having resign'd the Place of Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*, the Duke of *Monmouth* was unanimously chosen to succeed him, and on the 3d of November 1674, Doctor *Spencer*, Master of *Benet-College*, and Vice-Chancellor, accompany'd by the Doctors, and the Chief Persons of the University, with a great Number of Students, waited on the Duke in order to his Instalment, which was perform'd the same Day, the Vice-Chancellor made an Eloquent Speech in *English*, and Doctor *Taman*, the University Orator in *Latin*, on this occasion, and when the Ceremony was over, the New Chancellor treated the whole Company, being near 500 Persons at *Worcester-House*, with extraordinary Magnificence. In January, the Duke stood Godfather to His Royal Highness's Daughter, the Princess *Catherine*. The late Queen *Mary* of glorious Memory, and her Sister our present Sovereign Queen *Ann* being Godmothers.

May the 17th 1676, a dreadful Fire broke out in *Southwark*; which burnt all that Day with great Fierceness, and held burning part of the next. The Duke of

*Mon-*

Monmouth was present, to assist those miserable People with his Advice and Protection, running into the midst of the Flames, to help such as endeavour'd to put 'em out. The King came himself to the Bridge Foot in his Barge. And this Zeal of the Dukes for the good of the Citizens, fix'd him in their Hearts so much, that the Duke taking care to cherish their Affection for him, His Royal Highness began to think he was too popular, and us'd too many Arts to gain the Love of the People. His Suspicion made him jealous, and his Religion, different from the Duke of Monmouth's, heighten'd his hatred of him so far that it became mortal.

The Progress of the French King's Arms in Flanders, allarm'd the Parliament of England, who unanimously resolv'd on an Addrefs to His Majesty, to enter into an Alliance with the Dutch, for putting a stop to the French Conquests. Mr. Thynne was sent over to Holland, with the Draught of an Alliance; which Sir William Temple, the King's Ambassador in Holland, concluded with the States General. By that Treaty, the King of England, was to maintain a Body of Troops in their Service, and accordingly 10000 Men were shipt for Flanders, to defend that Province; which was in imminent Danger by the Loss of Ghant, in March 1677. The Duke of Monmouth was declar'd General,

General, and the Earl of Offory, Lieutenant-General, of the English and Scotch, in this Expedition. On the 8th of March, the Lord Howard with 800 Soldiers, arriv'd at Ostend, and on the 10th, the Duke came into that Road with 1000 more, having been separated from the Lord Howard, and the rest of the English Ships, which had the Forces aboard, by bad Weather, part of the Fleet was driv'n back to England, and part got into Harbour in Flanders. The General on his Arrival went to Newport, to see what Condition the Place was in, and thence to Bruges, where part of the English were in Garrison. The Duke having view'd the Fortifications of those Cities, and giv'n Orders for the disposing of his Troops, as they arriv'd, return'd to England, to hasten the Reimbarking of his Soldiers, and by the latter end of May, there were 5000 English in Garrison at Bruges; besides several Regiments in Newport, and other Cities of Flanders. When all his Men were aboard, he return'd to Ostend, and without making any stay there, went to make a Review of his Forces in Newport. The next Day he came to Bruges, and gave Orders for all his Troops to march, to joyn the Prince of Orange, who was going to relieve Mons, besieg'd by the Duke of Luxemburg, himself follow'd in Person, and on Sunday the 14th August, he arriv'd in the Confederate Camp

Camp near *Mons*, just as the Prince was going to Dinner, the Duke din'd with him in the open Field, and after Dinner, several Battallions commanded by Count *Waldeck*, attack'd the *French*, on the side of the *Abbey* of St. *Denis*. The Prince and the Duke of *Monmouth* were present at the Attack, encouraging the Soldiers by their Presence and Example. In the mean while the *Spaniards* under the Duke of *Villa Hermosa*, assisted by the Earl of *Ossory*, with some *English* and *Scots* Regiments, attackt the *French*, on the side of *Casteau*; the *English* and *Spaniards* made themselves Masters of the Village, and after a Dispute of 3 Hours, dislodg'd the Enemy. The Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Monmouth*, rode from St. *Denis* to *Casteau*, where the Fight was long and doubtful. The Lord *Ossory* and the *English* did Wonders. The General was still present, where the Action was hottest, but he receiv'd no hurt. *Luxemburgh* drew off his Army in the Night, and left the Prince of *Orange* Master of the Field. This Battel was the last Fight in that War; for next Day News came, that the Peace was sign'd at *Nimezuen*.

The Peace brought the Duke of *Monmouth*, to *England*, where he was receiv'd every where with Joy and Applause; but the Nation grew from that time miserably divided into Parties, Papist and Fanatick,

T

Whig

Whig and Tory, distinguish'd the whole King-  
dom. The Cunning-Men of the Whig-  
Faction insinuated themselves so far into the  
good Opinion of the Duke of Monmouth,  
that they got him to declare for them, and  
to be their Protector. They flatter'd him  
with unlawful Hopes of Excluding his  
Uncle, the Duke of York, and succeeding  
his Father in the Throne. He was in his  
Nature easy and fond of Popularity ; which  
insensibly led him into all his Future Mis-  
fortunes, tho' as an ingenious Modern Au-  
thor observes, *Whatever might be the hidden  
Designs of some Working-heads, his own were No-  
ble and chiefly aim'd at the good of his Country.*

The Cry against the favour shewn to  
Papists, and the Complaints that they  
made Converts in the Army, oblig'd the  
King to publish an Order, the 2d of Novem-  
ber 1678. *That whosoever shall make Disco-  
very of any Officer or Soldier, of His Majesties  
Horse or Foot-Guards, who having formerly  
taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy,  
hath since been perverted, or hereafter shall be  
perverted to the Romish Religion, and hear  
Mass, such Discoverer upon Information there-  
of, giv'n to His Grace the Duke of Mon-  
mouth, Lord-General of His Majesties Forces,  
shall have a Reward of 20 Pounds, for every  
Officer or Soldier so discover'd.* About a  
Month before this, Sir Edmund Bury God-  
frey was murther'd, by Procurement of Pa-  
pists,

pists, to prevent his Discovering what he knew of the Popish Plot, and being in his Station as a Justice of the Peace, a zealous Prosecutor of Papists, and their Conspiracy, they assassin'd him, to terrifie others in the Commission of the Peace. Sir *Edmund* had taken *Coleman's* Confession, and others of the Conspirators, and to make away with him, was thought the best means to stifle the Discovery. The King immediately issu'd forth his Proclamation, with a Reward of 500 Pounds, to thote that shou'd discover the Murderers, and another afterwards with Promise of Security for their Persons, from the Revenge of the Friends and Relations of such as were so discover'd. *Miles Prance* a Popish Silver-Smith, was the first that gave in Evidence about it. And the King appointed the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Ossory*, the Earl of *Clarendon*, and Sir *Robert Southwell*, Clerk of the Councel, to take his Examination, and see if he cou'd go directly to all the Places he mention'd in *Somerset-House*, where the Murther was Committed, and the Body several times remov'd. The Duke, and other Lords went to *Somerset-House*, and *Prance* shew'd them where, and in what manner *Green*, *Bury*, and *Hill* committed the Murther. Having narrowly examin'd every Circumstance and Place. The Committee of Councel reported the Matter to the King, and the Duke and

the Earl of *Ossory*, were so well satisfy'd, with *Prances's Discovery*, that they drew up a Paper, and sign'd it with the Particulars of his Examination, and their Account of his shewing the Rooms, where the Bloody Fact was done, and the manner of doing it; which gave great Light into that Dark Affair.

When the King dissolv'd his Old Councel, and call'd a New one in *April 1679*. The Duke of *Monmouth* was continu'd in his Seat at the Board; but falling in with the Lords that oppos'd the Duke of *York's* Interest, he had the same fate with them, and in a little while was dismift. The Earl of *Northampton* some time before this entring on his Office of the Constable of the *Tower of London*, found one *Everard* there in a wretched Condition. This Person depos'd before the Parliament, that he came from *France* in 1675, to discover some Designs, then carry'd on by Collonel *Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, the Lady *Ann Gourdon*, and others against the King and Church. The Conspirators having some Knowledge of his Intentions, accus'd him first, and procur'd him, to be sent to the *Tower*. Where Sir *John Robinson* for a while kindly treated him. He visited him, and endeavour'd to get out of him what he had to say, *Everard* told him part of what he knew of the Papist's design against the Government. *Robinson* interrupted him, and said, *These were trifles, and that we car d not in England what*

*Priests*

Priests and Women cou'd devise beyond Sea ; That he took such Stories from him, as starting holes from the only point he had to urge against him, and unless he wou'd confess other matters against the Duke of Monmouth, he shou'd be sent to the Rack, and then to the Gallows. This Deposition lookt very ill to the Parliament, and the Clamour increasing about Papists being in places of Trust and Honour, of the Favour the Party met with in his Royal Highnesses Court, occasion'd the Duke and Dutches of York's Voyage to *Flanders*, where he was very well entertain'd by the Governor, till the *Spaniards* found he was in the *French Interest*, then they grew cold towards him, which made his Exile uneasy.

*Scotland* was not in the mean while free from her share of Discontent and Faction, some violent Kirk-men Assassinated Dr. Sharp, Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, the head of the *Orthodox Episcopal Party*. This Prelate had been a fiery Covenanter, and being lookt on as an Apostate by the Rigid Presbyterians, they thought they might lawfully take him off, as they did ; but knowing their Swords wou'd be of more use to them in so bad a Cause than their Arguments, they took Arms, and on the first of June Rendezvous'd on *Snowdon-Hill*, where they Muster'd 1500 Men, and their numbers increas'd daily. They seiz'd the

City of Glaskow, and now many of the honestest sort of Kirk-men, who were not in the least guilty of Dr. Sharp's Murder, join'd with them; they declar'd for a general Assembly of the Kirk, and an unlimited Parliament. When the King heard of this Insurrection, he gave present Directions for his Forces in *England* to march Northwards, and the Duke of Monmouth was made General. The deep Politicians, who think every act of State Mysterious, said, that the Duke's Enemies got him this Commission to ruin his Interest with the Dissenters, who were thought to wish well to the Covenanters. Leaving this Reflection to the Reader's Judgment, we proceed. The General posted to *Scotland* with such hast, that 'twas reported, he never slept, except in his Coach, till he had put himself at the head of the Royal Army. He immediately held a Council of War and his own Opinion directing the rest, on the 22d of June, 1679. he march'd to Attack the Rebels, who lay in *Hamilton Park*, a very advantageous Post. *Bothwell Bridge* was the only passage to it, which they had barricado'd, and well lin'd with Musqueteers. The Duke march'd in good order, and so silently, that the Covenanters had no Notice of his Approach, till their Guards saw the lighted Matches, took the Allarm, and put themselves in a fighting posture. The Duke drew up his Army

Army upon the Hills that front *Hamilton Park*, and order'd *Oglethorp* to post himself near the Bridge. The Rebels were drawn up in two distinct Bodies, about a Mile asunder, the smallest lay near the Bridge, and the other near the Camp, as high as the Park. Some of the Covenanters presented themselves to the Duke, offering him their Declaration, and a Petition sign'd by *Robert Hamilton*, who Commanded their Horse in the Name of the rest. They pray'd that the Terms of their Declaration might be made good, and that safe Conduct might be granted for some of their number to wait on the General with their Address about it. The Duke answer'd, *He wou'd not treat with them upon their Declaration, but if they would lay down their Arms he wou'd receive 'em into the King's Mercy*, and finding they trifled with him, he sent 'em word *he wou'd receive no other Messages from 'em*, and commanded his Artillery to play. The Rebels threw themselves on the Ground, to avoid the shot; those that were posted on the Bridge fir'd at first very warmly, but after 5 or 6 Discharges of the Cannon, they all ran away, the Men in the Park running first: Then the Duke advanc'd, and his Soldiers seiz'd on the Bridge, threw the Rebels Barricadoes into the River, took with 'em one piece of Cannon, and persu'd those that fled up the Hill. The Rebels perceiv-

ing the Number of the Persuers, to be small, fac'd about, and rally'd; yet tho' the Royalists retir'd back to the River, the Rebels wou'd not venture to come down. The Duke past his whole Army over the Bridge, and drew them up on a rising Ground. While this was doing, the Rebels came down in very good Order, till they saw the Duke's Cannon, at the head of his Army, then they open'd their Ranks foolishly fancying that the Royalists were oblig'd to shoot strait forward, and that they might avoid the Shot by opening in the Middle. As soon as the Cannon was brought to bear, and began to do Execution, they ran again. *Robert Hamilton* their Commander, was one of the first that fled. The Dragoons coming upon them, made a perfect Rout. The Rebels every where flying, and the Royalists persuing them as fast; 7 or 800 of the former were kill'd on the spot, and many more taken. The Duke return'd victorious to *Edinburgh*; where he was splendidly entertain'd by the Magistrates on the 3d of *July*, the Lord Provost presenting him with his Freedom in a Gold Box. At *York* he met with the same Honourable Reception. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen in a Body waited on him, and complimented him on his Victory. On the 10th he came to *London*, and from thence went directly to *Windsor*, where the King then lay.

His

His Welcome was not such as he expect-ed, and deserv'd, his Uncle's Friends re-presented to His Majesty, that the Duke had treated the *Scots Rebels*, with too much Lenity. His Carriage in *Scotland*, his Zeal in the Prosecution of the Plot, his Friend-ship with His Royal Highness's profest Ene-mies, and his affecting to be popular, con-curr'd in his Fall. Yet the King cou'd not pre-fently forget his Natural Affection for him, and there must be other Accidents in-tervene, before he treats him as the Popish Fa-tion desir'd. The Dutches of *Mon-mouth* was taken so ill, just after the Duke's Arrival from *Scotland*, that her Life was de-spair'd off, and at the same time, the King fell sick of a Fever, and his Physi-cians began to fear for him. The Duke frequently went to *Windfor*, to visit His Majesty, and return'd the same Night to *London*. He was now tempted by some hot Men of the Protestant Party, to set up for himself, if the King shou'd do otherwise than well. 'Twas observ'd, he was very busiy in doubling the Guards, and drawing the Forces about *London*. And had the King's time been come, his Brother being ab-sent, and his Son so generally belov'd, 'twas thought the Duke of *Yorke* wou'd not have been able to put off his Abdication 10 Years longer. His Royal Highness allarm'd with these Apprehensions, return'd hastily from

from Brussels to England. His Majesty was then recovering, and the Duke of Monmouth's Conduct, had giv'n his Enemies such an Advantage to misrepresent it to the King, that he was prevail'd on, to turn him out of all his Places, and to order him to travel as well as the Duke of York. His Majesty also caus'd this Declaration to be enter'd in the Council-Book.

*That to avoid any Dispute, which may happen  
in time to come, concerning the Succession to  
the Crown, he declares in the Presence of  
Almighty God, that he never gave nor made  
any Contract of Marriage, nor was married  
to any Woman whatsoever, but to his pre-  
sent Wife Queen Katherine now living*

*Whitehal, March*

*3d 1679.*

*Charles, Rex.*

Three Months after he renew'd it again, and call'd the Report of his Marriage to Mrs. Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's Mother *false and scandalous*, forbidding every one to presume to utter or publish any such thing.

The Duke bore this Change of Fortune with the same equal Temper, as he had behav'd himself, when he was in the height of her favour, and in obedience to his Fathers Commands, being attended by a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, he went to Arlington-Gardens, to take

*Leave*

Leave of His Majesty, who met him there the 23d of Sept. in the Forenoon, and the Duke, tho' suffering under the Malice of his Enemies, carry'd himself so submissively before the King on this occasion, that His Majesty cou'd not forbear shewing as much of the Father as the Duke did of the Son. About two in the Afternoon, he went to Greenwich; accompany'd by his Noble Friends, and his Servants, a gallant and a mournful Train. At Greenwich he went aboard the Yacht, which was to transport him to *Holland*, and on the 28th, he arriv'd at the *Hague*; Mr. Sidney (the present Earl of Romney) the King's Ambassador to the States General, invited him to his House; which he accepted of for his Lodgings. The next day he waited on the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and din'd with their Royal Highnesses the Sunday following. Mr. Sidney, and several other Persons of Quality attending him. The next Morning he and his Followers went to *Utrecht*; where he took a House, and resolv'd to reside there, while the Duke of York stay'd at *Brussels*. On the 16th of October, he went to *Amsterdam*, and was Nobly entertain'd by the English Merchants. Here a French Officer affronted him, the Duke immedia-tely demanded Satisfaction, and had not others interpos'd, he wou'd have done himself Justice on the French Bravo, without leaving

leaving him to the Mob, who drove him out of the City. While the Duke remain'd at *Utrecht*, his Friends in *England* gave him Notice of the Practices of the Popish Faction, to destroy him, and his Royal Highness returning out of *Flanders*, to the surprize of most People, the Duke also came back a few Weeks after, his Council having advis'd him, that Banishment cannot by the Laws of *England* be inflicted on any Man, till he is convicted of some Crime to deserve it.

On the 27th of November, he arriv'd at *London* about Midnight, and the Watch spread the News of his landing, upon which the Bells rang, and Bonfires were made thro' the City and Suburbs. For the more he was deprest by his Unkle, the higher he rose in the Affections of the People, till the breaking out of that, which was call'd the Protestant Plot, ruin'd him and his whole Party.

The first Attempt of the Papists to destroy him, was by making him General of the Army; which was to be rais'd by the Scheme of an Insurrection discover'd by *Dangerfield*, and found under *Celliers* Meal-tub, and the Duke seeing the Faction wou'd be satisfy'd, with nothing less than his Life; resolv'd to fortifie himself in the Number of his Friends. To this end, he made several Progresses Westward and Northward, visiting such of

the

the Nobility and Gentry, as he knew were true to the Protestant Interest. In August 1680 he went to *Longleat* in *Wiltshire*, a fine Seat of Mr. *Thynnes*, with whom he stay'd two or three Days, and on the 24th of August, he came to Mr. *Speaks*, at *Whitelackindon* in *Somersetshire*, a Gentleman of good Estate and Character, who tho' he was a true Son of the Church of *England*, yet was not, like too many Gentlemen of that County, who thought the best way to shew their Zeal for the King and Church, was by persecuting their dissenting Neighbours, and cursing them in their Drunken Revels; where Reason and Religion, tho' they are much pretended to, were very ill sorted to keep Company with Riot and Debauchery. Mr. *Speak* receiv'd the Duke handsomely and heartily, 2000 Horse met him 10 Miles from *Whitelackindon*, and before they got thither, they were thought to be 20000. The Places, particularly *Ilchester* and *Pitthyton*, thro' which they rode, were strew'd with Flowers, and the Trees and Sign-Posts hung with Garlands. The Country People in their rural Simplicity, presenting every where their best Provisions to the Duke, and those that accompany'd him. On the 26th he din'd with Sir *John Sydenham* of *Brampton*, and the next day with Mr. *Stroud* of *Barrington*, both Gentlemen of Worth and Honour. After Dinner he rode

rode thro' *Chard*, where he was treated as well as the Place cou'd afford, and lay that Night at Mr. *Prideaux*, a Gentleman, who afterwards suffer'd highly for his Acquaintance with the Duke. *Jeffery's* when he was Chief Justice, forcing him to give him almost 15000 Pounds, for a Bribe to save his Life; which otherwise was in Danger by a pretended Discovery, of his being concern'd in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Rebellion; which he was not, yet that exorbitant Sum has not yet been recover'd from *Jefferies* Estate, tho' the Bribery was more than once prov'd in Parliament. On the 30th of *August*, he went to Sir *Walter Young's* at *Calliton*, the next day, he din'd with Mr. *Duke of Otterton* in *Devonshire*, and from thence he rode to *Exeter*. In the way he was met by the Chief Merchants and Tradesmen of that City, and the Gentlemen and People of the Neighbourhood, in all above 2000 Persons, of whom 1000 were young Men, in white Linnen Wastcoats and Drawers. The Duke was extreamly pleas'd, to see 'em, they were drawn up in two Bodies, on a little round Hill, 3 Miles from the City. He rode round each Company, who then united, and march'd hand in hand, before him to his Lodging, at the *Deanery* in *Exeter*; where Sir *William Courtney* entertain'd him and his Followers, as generously as the Gentlemen of *Somersetshire* had done before.

The

The 3d of September, he again visited Mr. Speak, and din'd on Friday with Mr. Harvey near Teovill, and from Mr. Harvey's he rode attended by 4 or 5000 Men, to Mr. Thynnes. The Affection the People shew'd for him, provok'd the Papists, and tho' this Journey seems too trivial to have a place in his History, yet the Consequence, the Dukes Confinement, makes the Relation necessary.

In December, he assisted at the Lord Stafford's Tryal, and gave his Vote for his Conviction. The Parliament then sitting, for endeavouring to alter the Succession, and voting against lending the King Money, on any Branch of the Revenue, was Dissolv'd, and a New one call'd to sit at Oxford. Where the Duke of Monmouth attended by the Lord Grey, and other Lords, went according to his Summons. He was one of the Peers, that enter'd their Protestation, against the Lords Rejecting Fitzharris's Impeachment; which shew'd their good Will, tho' 'twas of no Service, for Fitzharris, notwithstanding the Commons voted warmly against any Judges trying him, was found guilty of Treason, and hang'd out of the way.

The Duke of Monmouth return'd to London the 28th of March 1682. and was Treated by the Sheriffs; by a Select Number of private Gentlemen at Mile-End, and by the Lord Mayor, the Croud hanging about

bout his Coach, and shouting him thro' the Streets as he past thro' the City. The Lord *Howard* was taken up and Committed close Prisoner to the *Tower*, on Information given by *Fitzharris's* Wife, that he was concern'd in Writing that abominable Libel, call'd, *Treason in Grain*, for which her Husband was Executed. This Lord was a Person that affected fine speaking, and lov'd to hear himself talk, let the Subject be what it wou'd; the railing at the Popish Plot, and the danger of Liberty and Property, were fair To-picks for him to Exercise his Eloquence on, and this being lately in Fashion, he join'd with the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Party in the House of Peers, till their heat was over, and the Duke of *York's* Interest began to carry it. His Intimacy with some of the Protestant Lords gave him an opportunity to hear them talk more than they ever meant to do, or was fit to be known, and Poverty made him hope for better times on a Revolution: But the Scene being chang'd, and the Faction against the Plot Uppermost, he was by *Fitzharris's* means brought acquainted with *Wall*, and her Mistress the Dutchesse of *Portsmouth*, who reconcil'd him to the Court, procur'd him a Pardon on Condition, as himself call'd it, *he shou'd go thro' the Drudgery of Swearing*, in which the famous Dr. *Oats* could not outdo him. Now out comes the *Presbyterian* Plot, and the Lord

Lord Howard, as Sir John Hawles calls him, became a thorow-pac'd Evidence.

The Duke was Accus'd of being in the Conspiracy with the Lord Russel, and others, for an Insurrection. He had like to have sav'd his Enemies the Guilt of an unjust Prosecution to take him off; for being in his Friend Mr. Thynne's Coach, who had been Riding with him in the Park, he accidentally was Set down in the Pall-Mall, between Suffolk Street and St. Albans Street, and the Minute he parted from Mr. Thynne, Count Coningsmark's Russians fir'd a Blunderbuss into his Coach, and Shot him. Stern on his Tryal said he was order'd not to fire if the Duke had been in the Coach. When he heard of the Murther of his Friend he came to him, and found him Exspiring. The Duke went himself in search of the Murtherers, and having Information that Coningsmark intended to fly, he sent Gibbons, his Footman, to Graves-End, who found him there, and secur'd him the 9th of March. Mr. Thynne was buried in Westminster-Abby, the Duke assisting at the Funeral Solemnity. At the Assizes held in Lent at Reading, a Person was Convict'd for drinking a Confusion to the Duke of Monmouth, and the Protestant Religion.

On the 18th of April 1682. the Duke went to the Race at Northampton, and in September to that at Coventry, Accompany'd

by the Lord Colechester, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and others. At Daventry he was met by Mr. Hopkins, Member of Parliament, several Aldermen, and the Chief Citizens of Coventry. From that City he went to Trentham, and lay at Mr. Levison Gowers, thence he Rode to Chester, where Mr. Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons, waited on him. In Cheshire he won the Plate at Wallesey, and gave it to the Mayor of Chester's Daughter, to whom he stood God-father. He left Wallesey when the Race was over, and came to the Earl Rivers's at Rock-savage, thence he went to the Lord Delamer's at Dunham, and from thence to the Earl of Macclesfields, Accompany'd by the Lord Colchester, the Lord Gerrard, Mr. Crew, and a fine Train of Servants and Followers. At Stafford, in his return to London, he was taken into Custody of a Serjeant at Arms, John Ramsey Esq; by Virtue of a Warrant Sign'd by Jenkins, Secretary of State, to secure his Person for pretended Riots in this Journey. The Duke receiv'd his Message with the same Presence of Mind, as he had done the loss of his Places, and prepar'd to go with Ramsey to London, Sir Thomas Armstrong posted to Town immediately, and su'd out a *Habeas Corpus*. He met the Duke and Ramsey at St. Albans, where the *Habeas Corpus* superseeded the Secretary's Warrant but Ramsey telling the Duke 'twas the King's

plea

pleasure he shou'd appear before him, he comply'd, and offer'd himself to Secretary *Jenkins* to be Examin'd, provided there were others of the Council present. For *Jenkins*, as Sir *William Temple* in his Memoirs has justly giv'n his Character, was a Person of no Parts nor Integrity, very Unworthy his Imployment, and the Honour of his Majesty's Favour, and the Duke dar'd not trust his Examination with a Man who was his Enemy's Creature. *Jenkins* refusing to let any of the Lords be present, the Duke wou'd not be Question'd by him, so the Secretary order'd a second Warrant to be drawn for *Ramsey*'s keeping him in Custody, which he did from Saturday to Monday, and then the Duke was Bayl'd before Judge *Raymund*. His Bail were the Earl of *Clare*, the Ld *Grey*, the Lord *Russel*, *William Levison Gower*, Esq; and *John Offley*, Esq; Gentlemen of the greatest Estates in *England*. The first day of the Term he made his Appearance at the King's Bench Bar, according to his Recognizance, and clear'd his Bail. In Novemb. Himself, the Lords *Lovelace* and *Colchester*, went to the Race at *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, where the Duke Rode for the Plate, and won it. The 15th of this Month, he din'd with the Lord *Grey* in the King's Bench Prison, and now the Lord *Howard*'s Discov-  
eries began to work. *Rumsey* and *West* were brought in to Evidence against the Lord

Russel, and that true English Nobleman was Murder'd. Coll. Sydney suffer'd also on a Scaffold, the Earl of Essex was found with his Throat cut in the Tower, these three were Members of the pretended Council of Six, who were to use the Lord Howard's words, to manage the Business of the Insurrection with so much fineness as was necessary. The Duke of Monmouth, Mr. Hampden and Howard, the Evidence, being the other three. All England was to be rais'd, the King and the Duke of York Assassinated, the Marquits of Halifax, the Duke of Beauford, the Earl of Rochester, and Sir Leolyne Jenkins were to be destroy'd, and if we may believe the Author of the True Account and Declaration of the Horrid Conspiracy, Sir John Moor, Sir William Pritchard, Lord Mayor Elect, North and Rich the two Sheriffs, were to be Murder'd, their Skins stuff'd, and hung up in Guild-Hall. Most of the Judges were to be kill'd for their pretended Illegal and Arbitrary Judgments, and their Skins, in the same manner, hung up in Westminster-Hall. Some of the principal Abhorriers, Addressors, and reputed Pensioners in the late long Parliament ( under which Titles, in their Modern opprobrious Language, they had been us'd to Comprehend the most steady Adherents to the Crown, and true Sons of the Church of England ) were to be brought to Tryal and Death, the Skins too of those they stil'd Pensioners, were to be hung

up in the House of Commons. North, the Lord Keeper, was to be sent to Oxford, and hang'd on the same Gallows on which the Infamous College had been Executed. Against the Authority of this Author, we must Report the dying Words of the Lord Russel, he Sums up that which was call'd his last Speech thus, *As I had not any design against the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatsoever, so I never was in any contrivance of altering the Government, I wish the rage of hot Men, and the partiality of Juries, may be stop'd with my Blood, which I wou'd offer up with so much the more Joy, if I thought I shou'd be the last that were to suffer in such a way.* The Earl of Anglesey witness'd for my Lord, that the Lord Howard, who was the Chief Evidence against him, told the Earl of Bedford, in his hearing, *That he knew nothing against the Lord Russel, or any Body else, of such a Barbarous Design.* Mr. Howard witness'd that the Lord Howard took it upon his Honour and Faith, he knew nothing of any Person concern'd in that Business. The present Bishop of Salisbury said the same. The Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Clifford, Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. Spencer, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Fitzwilliams and Dr. Cox, appear'd to justify the Honour, Integrity and Moderation of the Lord Russel's Life and Conversation, and the Improbability of his being concern'd

in such a Conspiracy; add to all these the Lord *Russel's* positive denying the matter in the Paper he gave the Sheriffs, which, says the abovemention'd Author was *full of Enormous Falshoods*; but that writer did not think when he wrote his *True Account*, that there wou'd come a time when the Parliament of *England, King, Lords and Commons*, shou'd declare the Lord *Russel's* attainer, which he stiles *an Impartial and fair Course of publick Justice, Unjust and Illegal*, and that his Death was *Murder*. We have been the longer on the Lord *Russel's* Fate, because the Duke of *Monmouth's* Crime was the same, the Witnesses against him wou'd have been the same; they acted jointly in the Matter, and if my Lord *Russel* was not Guilty, the Duke of *Monmouth* was Innocent: Yet Innocent as he was, there was no standing against such Evidence as the Lord *Howard*, who, in answer to the Earl of *Anglesey's* Depositing, that he told him he believ'd the Lord *Russel* was not Guilty, said, *he did it to outface the matter*. So the Duke withdrew as soon as the Proclamation came out for Apprehending Him, and Others. He wrote a Letter to the King, promising better Obedience for the future. His Majesty requir'd him to Surrender himself to the Secretary of State, which he did not care to venture. He wrote again to the King, *Wherein he Aggravates his Sorrow and Tortures of Mind, for his failing*

ing against his Majesty, Confessing, that being fatally Circumvented by the Enchantments of Others, he was precipitated into those Evils, the Consequences whereof he had not expected. The King at last granted him an Interview, as appears by the small Journal taken in his Pocket after Sedgemore Fight, in the Appendix of Dr. Welwood's Memoirs, No. 14; 'twas written with his own hand, and the Names left in Cypher, but at the first Reading the Figure 29 appears to mean the King, and 39 the Duke of York, and we have accordingly Incerted the Names at length.

' His Majesty, at their first meeting, assur'd  
' the Duke he never believ'd he ever knew  
' any thing of the *Rye-House Plot*, but as  
' things went, he must behave himself as if  
' he did believe it. The King saw him the  
' 13th of October, and the 2d of November  
' there was another Meeting to have been,  
' but there being an extraordinary Council,  
' the King did not come. These Interviews  
were held at one Major Long's House in the  
City, who is still living, and ready to assert  
the Truth of it. ' The 4th of November the  
' King came, was very kind, and gave him  
' Directions how to manage his Business,  
' what to say, and order'd a Person to come  
' to him every Night till the Matters were  
' ripe. The 9th the Duke was told the Bu-  
' siness shou'd be done to his Mind the next  
' Week, that Interest was made to the Duke

‘ of York for him by another Person, which  
‘ his Majesty took kindly of that Person;  
‘ the Messenger said at parting, there shou’d  
‘ be nothing requir’d of him but what was  
‘ Safe and Honourable; adding, something  
‘ must be done to blind the Duke of York.  
‘ The 15th of November the Lord, who came  
‘ between the King and him, brought the  
‘ Duke the Copy of the Letter he was to  
‘ Sign to please his Royal Highness. The  
‘ Duke of Monmouth was persuaded to do  
‘ it, yet, before he parted with it, he desir’d  
‘ to know in whose Hands it was to be de-  
‘ posited, for he wou’d trust it with none but  
‘ the King. The Lord told him it shou’d  
‘ be as he wou’d have it, tho’ if his Royal  
‘ Highness ask’d a Copy, it cou’d not be re-  
‘ fus’d. The Duke refer’d himself entirely  
‘ to his Majesty’s pleasure. In this Letter  
he writes, *That his Crimes appear’d to him  
with so terrible an aspect, that he wou’d rather  
dye than be tormented with their Stings, he  
therefore implor’d the King’s Grace and Pardon,  
which he did not desire but by the Mediation  
of his Royal Highness.* ‘ The 24th of Nov.  
‘ the same Lord came to him and acquainted  
‘ him, That his Majesty order’d him to  
‘ Render himself the next day, caution’d  
‘ him to play his part, to avoid Questions  
‘ as much as possible, and to seem absolutely  
‘ converted to his Uncle’s Interest, bidding  
‘ him bear with some words that might  
‘ seem

' seem harsh. The Lord *Russel*, and Coll. *Sydney's* Blood had a little satisfy'd the Popish Faction, for the Roll of *Martyrs*, who had dy'd at *Tyburn* for their Plot. The King himself undertook to prepare his Brother to admit of his Son's Pardon, provided he might seem to owe the favour to his Royal Highness. The way being made for the Duke of *Monmouth's* appearance at Court, and for his formal Reconciliation to the King.

' On the 29th of November he Surrender'd himself to the Secretary of State, and at Night his Majesty seeing him, cou'd not dissemble his satisfaction, but press'd his Hand, which he had not done since his return from the *French* Service. The King acted his part very well, so did the Duke, and his Royal Highness was not ill pleas'd. The next day his Majesty took the Duke aside, and falling upon the business of the Lord *Russel*, said, he inclin'd to have sav'd him, and was forc'd to consent to his Death, otherwise he must have broke with his Brother, and when the Duke was going to Remonstrate how cruelly that Noble Lord had been dealt with, the King bid him think no more of it. At Night the Lord, who was the King and the Duke's Confidant, told the latter, ' he fear'd the Duke of *York* began to smell out his Majesty's Carriage; That a Courtier had that Morning told his Royal Highness all that was done

' done was but a sham, and that his Royal  
' Highness appearing to be the Instrument of  
' the Reconciliation was a Trick. This dou-  
ble Dealing so far incens'd the Duke of York,  
that he wou'd not be content till the King  
demanded of the Duke of Monmouth the  
Publication of the Letter mention'd to be  
Sign'd the 15th of November, and another  
Letter, wherein he adds, *He was inform'd  
'twas reported of him, as if he had design'd to  
extenuate the late Conspiracy, and traduce the  
Testimonies against them that suffer'd.* His  
Majesty, and the Duke, knew how ingenuously he  
confess'd all things, and that he was not conci-  
ous of the least evil against his Majesty's Life.  
It griev'd him, however, that he had so greatly  
Countenanc'd the said Conspiracy. He wou'd  
publish this for his Vindication, beseeching his  
Majesty not to look back, but that he wou'd please  
to forget those Injuries which he had Forgiv'n,  
it shou'd be his care for the future to Sin no  
more, or suffer himself to be misled from his  
Duty. He wou'd spend his whole Life to de-  
serve that Pardon which he had granted to his  
most Dutiful Monmouth.

The first Paper was sign'd on assurance it  
shou'd never be made publick, and the Duke  
positively refus'd to consent to it, the last  
was got out of him by Threat and Promises;  
but the Duke soon repented of what he had  
said and done, Address'd himself to his Ma-  
jesty to have the first Letter deliver'd back

to him, and said that he thought the last was a *Diminution of his Honour*. The King us'd Arguments to persuade him to consent that all his Letters might be Printed, as the only means to continue in his Favour, without offending his Royal Highness. The Duke resolutely refus'd it, and on his refusal was again Disgrac'd and Banish'd from his Father's Court and Presence, which was what the Popish Faction desir'd, and intended by setting the Duke of York on demanding the publishing of the Declaration, which the Duke of *Monmouth* did not make but on Condition it shou'd never be publish'd.

The Duke retir'd to *Holland*, and met with a noble Reception at the *Hague*. His Majesty was well pleas'd with the Entertainment he found in another Court, tho', for Reasons of State, he was oblig'd to forbid him his own. He secretly supply'd him with Money, and sometimes writ to him with his own hand. The Courtiers, who were not acquainted with the Intrigue, thought they cou'd not make their Fortune at an easier rate than by aggravating the Duke of *Monmouth's* Crimes, but they were often mistaken to their Cost. The rest of King *Charles's* Reign was the worst part of it, there was nothing heard of but Tryals, Executions, and Exorbitant Fines. But we know 'tis a very ungrateful Subject to write of, or to read, and the Actions of Kings are

are, by many, esteem'd so sacred, that one cannot keep to Truth without being profane. Let us therefore give as little Offence as possible, and content our selves with what Dr. *Welwood* has said on this occasion. ‘The shallow Remains of *English* Liberty were then attack'd on every side, and some of the Noblest Blood of the Nation offer'd up a Sacrifice to the Manes of Popish Martyrs, and made to attone for the Bill of Exclusion. Swearing came once more in fashion, and a new Evidence-Office was erected at *Whitehall*; but whereas the Witnesses of the Popish Plot were Brow-beaten and discourag'd, those of the Protestant Plot were highly encourag'd; and instead of Judges and Juries that might Boggle at Half-Evidence, as it fell out in the Prosecution of the former, care was taken in this to pick out such as shou'd stick at nothing to serve a Turn. It was by such Judges and Jurics that the Lord *Russel* and Mr. *Sydney* fell, and the Cutting off those two Noble Lives, may be reckon'd among the first Triumphs of the Duke's Party in *England*. It's true, King *Charles* seem'd inclin'd to Pardon both the one and the other, and the very day the Lord *Russel* was Executed some Words escap'd him, that show'd sufficiently his Irresolution in that matter. But by this time he was too far gone to make a hand.

handsome Retreat on a sudden, and there was observable ever after a sensible change in his Temper ; for, from an Easiness and Debonairness that was natural to him, he came at length to treat Men with hard Names, and, upon some Occasions, to express a Severity in his Disposition that he had been ever averse to before. The rest of that King's Reign was one continu'd Invasion upon the Rights of the People, and the Nation seem'd unwilling now to Contend for them more. King *Charles*, notwithstanding his Abilities, and fitness for Business, appear'd to be quite lull'd asleep with the Charms of a new swell'd up Prerogative, while some of our Neighbours were playing their Game to the Prejudice of *England* Abroad, and the Duke's Creatures were managing all things to their own mind at Home. Nature prevail'd upon King *Charles* at length, and the shame of seeing himself impos'd upon by others far short of him in Parts, and that the Courtiers anticipated his Death by their Addresses to his Brother, as if he had been already King, did help to awake him out of his Slumber, and brought him to lay a Project for a mighty Change in the Affairs of *England*, which, probably, might have made both him and the Nation happy. If he had liv'd but a few Weeks longer *Monmouth* had been recall'd

to

' to Court, the Duke of York had been sent  
' beyond Sea, and a new Parliament con-  
' ven'd. But what farther was to follow  
' must be bury'd with his Ashes, there be-  
' ing nothing left us but bare Suspicions of  
' what might have been. This is certain,  
' his Death came opportunely for the Duke,  
' and in such a manner, and with such Cir-  
' cumstances, as will be a Problem to Po-  
' sterity, whether he dy'd a Natural Death,  
' or was hasten'd to his Grave by Treache-  
' ry.' So far we have litterally follow'd  
Dr. Welwood, and we have been inform'd  
by Persons who were very near his Ma-  
jesty, that he often express'd himself, that  
*He resolv'd to be easy for the rest of his Life,*  
and he told a Person of the highest Quali-  
ty, whom he wou'd have put on some un-  
warrantable Action, *That he wou'd not Trav-*  
*el in his Old Age.* King Charles was a  
Prince of as much Personal Merit, as ever  
sat on the English Throne, and whatever he  
did amiss was more thro' Negligence than  
Design, more thro' the easiness of his Tem-  
per than an ill Disposition. His Love of  
Pleasure was predominant to that of Glo-  
ry, and he was for those Measures which  
he thought wou'd give him least disturbance  
This was the Reason that he left the Ma-  
nagement of Business to his Brother, every  
way inferior to himself both for Parts and  
Experience: The King shewing as much  
good

good Sense in his Councils, when he condescended to come to the Board, as Wit in his Conversations of Gallantry or Mirth.

On the 29th of December 1684. the Duke of Monmouth receiv'd a Letter from his Majesty, advising him not to be too hasty in his return, but to stay till he heard further from him, and another the 5th of January, from their Joint Confident, mark'd in the Margin by the King, bidding him, 'trust entirely in the Messenger sent to him, and that he shou'd certainly have leave to return in February, that matters were concerting towards it, and that the Duke of York had no suspicion, notwithstanding the Duke of Monmouth's Reception in Holland'. Feb. the 3d. the same Lord wrote to him, that his Busines was almost as well as done, but must be so sudden, as not to leave room for the Duke of York's Party to Counterplot, that 'tis Probable his Royal Highness wou'd chuse Scotland rather than Flanders or Holland, which was all one to the King.

As for the Authority of the Journal we have made use of, take it in Dr. Welwood's own words, *of the most things abovemention'd, there is an infallible Proof Extant under Monmouth's own Hand, in a little Pocket Book which was taken with him, and deliver'd to King James, which, by an accident, is needless to mention here, I had leave to Copy, and did it in part.* The Author was Physician  
in

in Ordinary to his late Majesty, and Dedicates his Memoirs to the King, and we cannot but think truths so well attested are worthy the Reader's Knowledge and Approbation. The Duke of Monmouth's Restoration was not kept so secret, but the Papists had some hints of it, and happily to prevent their ruin by it, King Charles, the 2d. dy'd the 7th of February, 1684.

On the Duke of York's Accession to the Throne there were a few Gentlemen, and others, who foresaw the Danger that threatened the Protestant Religion, and made too much hast to prevent it. They Address'd themselves to the Duke of Monmouth, to make an early attempt to set aside King James, the Duke did not hearken to them so readily as they wish'd and expected, he wrote to one of 'em, *That he had reflected sufficiently on the present State of this Affair, and whatever way he turn'd his thoughts, he found Insuperable Difficulties, that he had not only look'd back, but forward, and the more he consider'd their present Circumstances, he thought them still the more desperate.* 'Twas a vain Argument to him that their Enemies were scarce well settled, for Fear in some, and Ambition in others, had brought many to comply, and the Parliament being made up of Members that formerly ran their Enemy down, they wou'd be ready to make their Peace as soon as they cou'd, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain

uncertain Bottom. He adds, for God's sake think of the Improbabilities that lye naturally in our way, and let us not, by strugling with our Chains, make 'em straiter and heavier : For my part, I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing, rather than a rash inconsiderate Man ; and to tell you my Thoughts, without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retir'd Life, that I'm never like to be fond of making a Bustle in the World again. However that he might not seem obstinate in his own Judgment, he appointed a Meeting with his Friends at Amsterdam, where they generally met. The Earl of Argyle, the Lord Grey, Sir John Cockram, Major Holms, Sir Joseph Tyley, Mr. Wade an eminent Lawyer of Bristol, Col. Matikews, and others, who have since been serviceable to this Nation in Parliament and the Army, were the Duke's Confederates and Counsellors. The Prince of Orange pitying his Condition, and foreseeing the ruin that wou'd inevitably attend the violent Methods his Friends put him upon, advis'd him to go to Hungary, and Serve the Emperor, offering to allow him a Pension sufficient to maintain him answerable to his Birth and Quality.

But he wou'd not Accept of his Offers, being over-perswaded by the Fugitives in Holland to Invade England with such a Train, as never Invader before set forth with, for

so daring an Enterprize. The Earl of Argyle was to land in Scotland, at the same time, that the Duke of Monmouth did the like in England. The Duke was very averse to it, and pray'd his Friends to leave him to his Retirement, where he endeavour'd by application to Reading and Study to recover the Time he had lost in a bad Education, and a loose Court. But when their Reasons were of no effect. His danger in Holland, and the Persecution of his Uncle King James made him desperate. Skelton the English Ambassador at the Hague, did all he could to have him secur'd and sent to England. The Prince of Orange having notice of Skelton's designs, not only gave him intimation of the Plot against him; but furnish'd him with Money to go to Brussels, where he made those serious reflexions we have mention'd, and had he persu'd them he had been safe. His Friends sollicited his return to Amsterdam, and he at last comply'd with their urgent entreaties to head them. At Amsterdam the Duke and the Earl of Argyle provided Ships to Transport them and their Followers. The latter was first ready, and Sail'd from the Uye the 2d of May, 1685. with 3 Ships. On the 13th he Landed in Lorn, and Garrison'd the Castle of Dunstaffva, He rov'd up and down the Counties of Argyle and Lorn, and the Islands

Islands on the Coast, but his numbers rather diminish'd than encreas'd. The Duke of *Monmouth* hir'd a Ship at *Amsterdam* of 32 Guns, and 2 other small Vessels, on which he loaded Arms for 5000 Men, and hearing the States at *Skelton's* sollicitation, had order'd him to be Arrested, he went aboard himself, accompany'd by *Ford Lord Grey*, since Earl of *Tankerville*, a German Count, and about 80 Gentlemen and Merchants. On the 24th of May he sail'd from *Amsterdam* in the Man of War, and his 2 Tenders, got out to Sea after him. He met with such bad Weather in his Voyage, that he was 19 days at Sea. On Thursday the 11th of June his three Ships appear'd off *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*. The Custom House Officers immediately sent off a Boat to know who they were; these the Duke stopp'd, and did the like by another Crew, that came off after them on the same Errand. There was then a small Fort mounted with 6 or 8 Guns, to defend the entrance into the Cob. This was in possession of Loyal Men, and the Duke cou'd not tell how to avoid it, till a Fisherman coming out of curiosity to see the Ships, was stopp'd by the Duke's Men, and forc'd to Pilot their Man of War to a place above the Fort, where the Duke might land, which he did, and for this the Fellow was afterwards

Hang'd, tho he was by violence compell'd to do it. and never appear'd in the Duke's Army.

The Duke came ashore about 8 a Clock in the Evening ; as soon as himself and his Men were landed, he Commanded silence, and falling on his Knees with the rest of the Company, he implor'd the Protection of Heaven in a short Prayer, then drawing his Sword, he led his Men a back way into the Town up to the Market-place, and set up his Standard without the least opposition, Here Captain *Lark*, and several of the Townsmen immediately joyn'd him, and these informing the Duke whom of their Neighbours were disaffected to his Cause. They were Seiz'd and Confin'd. The chief of those that came over with him were,

*The Lord Grey,*  
*A German Count.*  
*Sir Joseph Tyley.*  
*Mr. Wade.*  
*Dr Temple.*  
*Mr Ferguson.*  
*Collonel Holms.*  
*Collonel Matthews.*  
*Major Perrot.*  
*Captain Annesly.*  
*Captain Hewling.*

And about 670 Officers and Merchants, who were forc'd to fly to *Holland* for the share they had in former Conspiracies, and took hold of this opportunity to return to *England*. He muster'd his small Band at the Market Cross; they were all well Arm'd and in good Equipage. Being ask'd whom they were for? They declar'd for the Protestant Religion, inviting all Persons to come and joyn with them. A Printed Declaration was read, in which, *The Burning of London*, *the instigating a Confederacy with France against Holland*, *fomenting the Popish Plot*, *suborning Witnesses to Swear Protestant Patriots out of their Lives*; *hiring Villains to Assassinate the late Earl of Essex*, *advising and procuring the Dissolution of Parliaments*; *the seizing the Customs and Excise*; *the Murder of the Lord Russel, of Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Coll. Sydney*, *the Death of King Charles the 2d*, with many other detestable Crimes were maliciously alledg'd against the Government. The 22th of June was spent by the Duke's Officers in Listing Soldiers, who came in faster than they cou'd be Arm'd, and more than they had Arms for. On the 13th the Duke march'd out of *Lyme* with 60 Horse, and 120 Foot and went with them about 2 Miles. He then left the Lord *Grey* to Command the Party, and return'd himself to *Lyme*. The Lord *Grey* enter'd *Bridport* a-

bout 5 a Clock in the Morning, attack'd some of the Militia of the Country who Quarter'd there, took 8 Prisoners and 10 Horses, and kill'd 5 or 6 Gentlemen, who were Volunteers there for the King ; among these were Mr. *Wadham Strangewayes* and Mr. *Edward Coaker*. Mr. *Harvey* of *Shireburn*, and several others of the King's Men were Wounded, and 7 of the Duke's kill'd on the spot. After this Action the Lord Grey retreated to *Lyme* ; where the Countrymen continu'd to come and list themselves in the Duke's Service all that day and the next. On Monday morning he march'd out of *Lyme* with 4000 Foot and 300 Horse towards *Axminster*, having first order'd his Man of War to sail round the Lands end up *Bristol* Channel, and to meet him at that City. Here he committed his first false step in the Conduct of his Enterprize, for tho' his Men were not half Arm'd, and that *Lyme* cou'd not defend itself against one of the King's Ships ; yet he left his two Tenders in the Cob, and 40 Barrels of Powder aboard, and Back, Breast and Head pieces for 4000 Men in the Town. Which when Captain *Trevanion* in the *Soldado* arriv'd at *Lyme*, he seiz'd, and set the Townsmen free, that were Imprison'd for not approving the Duke's Cause.

On Saturday the King had notice of this Invasion, and Commanded the Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State, to acquaint the House of Commons, and the Lord Sunderland the other Secretary to Communicate his intelligence to the House of Lords. The Mayor of Lyme came Post to London, and was the same day examin'd before both Houses of Parliament, who Voted to stand by the King with their Lives and Fortunes against the Duke of Monmouth and all Rebels, and to advise the King to take care of his Royal Person. The Lords presented a short Address to his Majesty, offering their Lives and Fortunes in his Quarrel. The Commons were more warm. The Lord Middleton having inform'd 'em of the Invading this his Majesty's Kingdom, by that Ungrateful Rebel, James Duke of Monmouth, They do with all Duty, Loyalty and utter Detestation of such Rebels and Traytors, assure his Majesty, that they are and will be always ready to stand by, &c. The Duke, the Lord Grey, and all their Adherents were Proclaim'd Traytors. A Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Commons on Monday the 18th of June, read three times, and the King gave his Royal Assent to it the very next day. The Commons not to end here, made another Address to his Majesty to issue out his Proclamation with 5000 l. reward, to whoever

shall bring the Duke of *Monmouth* dead or alive. Several Officers and some Troops were sent into the West ; the Lord *Dunbar-ton's*, the Queens Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Coll. *Kirk*, the Earl of *Oxford's* Royal Regiment of Horse, the Horse and Foot Guards, 4 or 5 other Regiments of Horse, Foot and Dragoons, with a Train of Artillery were order'd Westward, under the Command of Monsieur *de Duras* Earl of *Feversham* Lieutenant General. The Duke of *Albemarle* rais'd the Militia of *Cornwall* and *Devon*. The Duke of *Beaufort* that of *Gloucester* and *Bristol*, and secur'd the latter for the King. The Duke of *Somerset* feiz'd *Bath* with the Militia of that County. That of *Oxfordshire*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire* and *Surrey* were Commanded to the West. The King took hold of this opportunity to re-call his 6 *English* and *Scotch* Regiments in the *Dutch* Service. Which the Prince of *Orange* readily dispatch'd over, and sent the present Earl of *Portland* to represent to his Majesty, that tho' he look'd upon the Duke of *Monmouth* to be a Man of no great Parts, yet he had a Warlike Genius, and was better skill'd in the Art Military than any the King had to Employ against Him, therefore if his Majesty pleas'd, he wou'd not only lend him his Troops; but come in Person to Command his Army; but the King was so prejudic'd against

gainst the Prince, by *Skelton* his Ambassa-  
or in *Holland*, that he refus'd to accept of  
his offer, in a manner which shew'd he was  
rather angry, than pleas'd with the Comple-  
ment.

Thus did his Majesty Fortify himself  
with Law and Arms against the Duke of  
*Monmouth*, who every day encreas'd his Ar-  
my, and where ever he came he was receiv'd  
with Joy, and blest as if he had really come  
for what he pretended, to deliver his  
Country from Popery and Slavery. Two  
Miles from *Lyme* his Scouts discover'd the  
Duke of *Albemarl* with 4000 of the Train-  
bands, on their march to *Axminster*, where  
the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Army intended to  
Quarter, They were got before *Albemarl*'s  
Men, and march'd in so good order, that he  
dar'd not Attack 'em; they enter'd and  
took Possession of the Town, planted their  
Field pieces, and posted themselves to Ad-  
vantage. The *Devonshire* Militia advanc'd  
within a Mile, and then drew off again,  
Part of the Militia of *Somersetshire* lay at  
*Taunton*, and the Gentlemen and Officers  
that were with them, seem'd resolv'd to fight  
the Duke if he ventur'd that way. They  
threatned him as dreadfully as they curst  
him, and if Oaths and Bottles would have  
have done his Business, he had certainly  
been defeated by this formidable Band: But  
we

we shall see how their Actions answer'd their words in a very few days. The Duke of *Albemarle* fearing the Fidelity of his Soldiers, retir'd in great disorder and hast, expecting to be follow'd, which the Duke of *Monmouth* was advis'd by his Council to do, for had he persu'd 'em, he had undoubtedly disarm'd all those Regiments, which wou'd have more than supply'd those of his own Men that were unfurnish'd. In two days they might have been at the Gates of *Exeter*, the Militia declaring they wou'd not fight, and many of 'em came to him with their Arms and Liveries. He was against the persuit, saying, 'twas not his Busyness to fight yet, till his Men were more disciplin'd, rather to make up into the Country as fast as possible, to meet his Friends whom he expected wou'd rise in all parts of England. This was the second Fault in his Conduct, and he lost an advantage by it which he never cou'd recover. From *Axminster* he march'd to *Taunton*, on the News of his Approach the Militia and their Officers ran away in the Night, several of them throwing away their Arms for Expedition in their flight, he arriv'd at *Taunton* on the 18th of June, and on the 19th the Lord *Churchil*, with a Body of the King's Forces, came to *Chard*, he detach'd Lieutenant *Monaux* with 20 Horse, and a Quarter-Master of the Lord

*Oxford's*

Oxford's Regiment to get Intelligence of the Enemy. These came up with a Party of the Duke's Men, within two Miles of *Taunton*, charg'd 'em, kill'd 12 of 'em upon the spot, and wounded most of the rest, but perceiving greater numbers of the Enemy approaching, they retir'd. *Monaux*, and 3 of his Men, were kill'd, and others wounded. When the Duke made his entry into *Taunton*, the Bells Rung, the Streets were strew'd with Flowers, and Crouds of Men Women and Children, of all Conditions, throng'd and shouted around him. Here 26 young Gentlewomen presented him with as many blew Colours fring'd with Gold, and his Cypher finely wrought by themselves in them. The Lady that led them made a Speech to him, and gave him a Sword and Bible. The Duke assur'd her and her fair Troop, *That he came now into the Field with a design to defend the Truth contain'd therein, and to Seal them with his Blood if there shou'd be occasion for't.*

Here he err'd a third time in a very high degree, by assuming the Title of King, *Ferguson*, and some others of his ill Councillors, forc'd it upon him contrary to his own Judgment, and he cou'd not be persuaded to it, till he was told the only way to prevent the Ruin of those that shou'd come in to his Assistance, in case he fail'd in the Attempt,

Lemont, was to declare himself King, That they might be shelter'd by the Statute made in the Reizn of Henry the VIIth, in favour of those that shou'd Obey a King de Facto. These Traytors advis'd him to do this, with several designs, some to render the Breach between the King and Him irreconcileable, and by playing 'em one against another, to make way for a Common-wealth, others to prevent a possibility of reconciliation, by delivering up those that join'd with him, which, says Dr. Wellwood, was a thought unworthy of that nice sincerity he had shewn in all the former Conduct of his Life. The Proclaiming him King, was a Breach of his Declaration, and Rumbald, at his Execution in Scotland, said openly, That Monmouth had broke his word with them, in declaring himself King, That they did not want him to make a Monarch of him, having already a better on the Throne, had they been fond of Kings. Whether he was willing or not, he was on Saturday Morning the 20th of June Proclaim'd King at the High-Cross in Taunton, the Magistrates attending in their Formalities. His Life Guard (50 young Men, Tradesmen and rich Yeomen's Sons) and 400 Horse assisting at the Ceremony. In the Afternoon 3 Proclamations were publish'd, one setting a Price on the King's Head, as his Majesty had done on his, and promising the same Reward.

ward of 5000*l.* tho' 'twas twice the Sum which the Duke had in his Exchequer. Another was in Revenge of the Bill of Attainder, to Proclaim the Parliament a Seditious Assembly, and if they did not separate before the end of June, to give Power and Authority to any one to lay hold on 'em as Rebels and Traytors. The third to deal by the Duke of Albemarl, as the King had done by the Lord Grey, and declare him a Traytor if he did not lay down his Arms. A Trumpet was sent to him to denounce this Message. He reply'd, *That he was a Subject to King James the Second, and that he knew no other Lord.* This Paper Thunder made little noise any where but in Taunton, and the sensible Men of the Duke's side laugh'd at his Mock Soveraignty there, as much as the King and Parliament did at London.

His Majesty began to be allarm'd, when he heard his Army was encreas'd to 10000 Men; the Lord Feversham hasten'd away with a Detachment of the Horse Guards, and the Duke of Grafton follow'd with 2000 of the Foot Guards, and a Train of Artillery.

On Sunday the 21st. of June the Duke of Monmouth march'd to Bridgwater, where his Forces were told to be above 10000 Men, tho' scarce half of 'em were Arm'd for

for Service. Here the Principal Townsmen assisted him with Ammunition and Money, and some of them took Arms. As soon as he came to Bridgwater, he Muster'd and Exercis'd his Men in the Castle Field. They consisted of 8 Regiments of Foot, and 12 Troops of Horse, Col. *Holms*, Col. *Fouls* and Col. *Matthews*, Commanded three of the Regiments, Captain *Lark* an Anabaptist Preacher, and Captain *Hewling* a Merchant's Son of London, Commanded two Troops of Horse, the best mounted in the Duke's Army. The Lord *Grey* was General of the Horse, and *Ferguson* his Chaplain in Ordinary, and first Minister of State. The Duke Lodg'd at Mr. *Harvey*'s at the Castle, where *Ferguson* Preach'd before him, and a numerous Auditory, wresting Scripture to Justify his Traiterous Designs, and Encourage his Companions in their Rebellion, calling it the *Cause of God, and his Gospel*. The Townsmen provided all sorts of Provisions for the Army, some of 'em Lodg'd and Entertain'd 40, 50, some 100 Soldiers. In the Afternoon the Duke's Declaration was Read, and himself Proclaim'd King, with the same Solemnity as at Taunton. The Mayor and Aldermen assisting in their Gowns, tho' more thro' Compulsion than Inclination, for the Mayor, Mr. *Popham* was a very Loyal Gentleman. From Bridgewater

water the Duke march'd next day to *Glastenbury*.

The same day the Earl of *Feveringham* arriv'd at *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, with a Detachment of the Horse Guards, of the Grenadiers, of the Earl of *Oxford's* Regiment, and of Dragoons. The Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Militia Horse of *Wiltshire*, join'd him, and that of *Hampshire* arrived on the 23d. of *June*. The Lord *Churchil*, with part of the King's Troops, observ'd the Duke's Motions very narrowly, and Detach'd a Party of Horse from *Langport*, who met with a Squadron of the Dukes, double their number, and beat 'em to their Main Body.

From *Glastenbury* the Duke advanc'd towards *Bristol*, and on the 24th of *June* came to *Canham*, between *Bristol* and *Bath*. The Duke of *Beaufort* was in the former with 4000 Men, and the King's Forces approach'd on all sides. The Duke of *Monmouth's* were every minute allarm'd with Reports of their appearing, and the Noise of their numbers, and their Artillery made a Confusion in his Council and Army. *Tyley, Wade,* and *Adlam*, *Bristol* Men, were for entering that City, they pray'd him to go on thither, and offer'd to lead the Army into the Place, assuring him there wou'd be no Resistance; and that to favour

your the Design, the Citizens, who were Well-wishers to his Cause, wou'd fire a Ship in the Port, on purpose to draw the Soldiers from their Posts to see, and to quench the Flames, and give the Duke an Opportunity to Surprize them. But he was not to be Perswaded. The Lord Grey, Ferguson, and others, were for neglecting that Place, which, had he taken, wou'd have furnish'd him with Arms, Men and Money. They represented to him the nearness of the Royalists, the Strength of the City, the Number of the Garrison, and the Zeal of the Governor for the King's Interest: That Delays wou'd be dangerous, if the Place shou'd hold out, and they were not provided for a Siege, nor did it consist with their Affairs to wast Time on Things of Length and Hazard; and tho' they might have some Friends within, they had more Enemies. This Advice prevail'd, and was another Instance of the Weakness or Treachery of the Duke's Councils; for had he been rul'd by his *Bristol* Men he had certainly carry'd that City, so strong was his Party within, and the Reader may judge of the Consequence of such an Acquisition, for a Place of Arms and Retreat on occasion.

At *Canham*, Oglethorp with 100 of the King's Horse fell on the Men the Duke had

had posted to Guard the Bridge, and Beat 'em from their Post to the very Town where the Army lay; most of 'em were refreshing themselves in the Fields about it. On the noise of the Skirmish they ran to their Arms, and the Duke sent to the Tower to see what was the matter; the Messenger saw the King's and the Duke's Soldiers engag'd, and the latter like to have the Worst on't, so other Parties were order'd out, who soon repuls'd the Royalists, kill'd the Earl of Newburgh, and 60 more, the rest made their Escape. The Duke's Army was now Computed to be 20000, such as they were, half Cloath'd and half Arm'd, 5000 of them might be fit for Service, and the Militia, in the King's Army, were readier to join with him than oppose him. His Majesty had no more than 7000 Regular Troops in all *England*, and had the Duke, when he resolv'd not to go to *Bristol*, follow'd the Lord Grey's Advice, fell vigorously on his Enemies, and persu'd 'em with Fire and Sword, he wou'd have distress'd King James more than he did. The Lord Grey told him, *Your Friends will join with you, and your inveterate Enemies there's no way to Punish, but by falling on them before they are gather'd into a Body.* The Duke was for saving his Men, always declaring, *He wish'd the Business could be decided without Blood.*

On Friday the 26th of June the King's Forces Rendezvous'd near Bath, and the Duke's came before that City, he sent a Trumpet to Summon it to Surrender, which the Duke of Somerset refus'd with Scorn. The strength of the place, and the Garrison, and the Neighbourhood of the Royal Army, made the Duke of Monmouth draw off his to Phillips Norton. He lay there that Night, the next day the Baggage being prepar'd for a march, and the Army designing for Frome, they were attack'd by a Body of the Royalists who enter'd the Town, lin'd the Hedges about it, and fir'd on the Duke's Men. The Duke of Grafton, at the Head of 500 Dragoons and Horse Granadiers, Advanc'd up to the middle of the Town, but was so well receiv'd by Coll. Matthews, that he was forc'd to retire, leaving 30 of his Men behind him dead on the place, among whom were Mr. May, and Mr. Seymour, Volunteers. Of the Duke's Men 10 were kill'd, and as many wounded. The Lord Faversham drew up his Forces on a Hill a Mile out of the Town, the Duke did the same, and the Armies Cannonaded each other two Hours. The Duke had the advantage of the Ground, and Captain Rose, his Gunner, very much incommoded the Royal Army, which oblig'd the Earl of Faversham to quit his Post, and retreat to Bradford.

ford. The Duke continu'd his march to *Frome*, and arrived there in the Evening, where he met with the same joyful Reception as at *Taunton*. Here they had News of *Argyle's* Defeat in *Scotland*, of *Feverstam's* receiving his whole Train of 30 pieces of Ordnance, of which the Duke's Councillors were so afraid, that they came to a mad Resolution, That all those that came over with him shou'd, in the Night, take the best Horses they cou'd get, scour off to *Pool*, Seize a Ship, Sail for *Holland*, and abandon the rest of the Army. But whether their design was discover'd, or that they were ashamed of such a piece of Treachery, it was not put in Execution. The Duke's Affairs declin'd daily, the King's Army were strong in Horse, 2000 Experienc'd Men, and as well Mounted as any in the World, and the Duke's Foot did not dare to meet 'em in an open Country. For this reason they dreaded to enter *Salisbury* Plain, and of a sudden, as the Army was marching from *Frome* to *Warminster*, orders were giv'n for 'em to return *Westward*, that, as 'twas pretended, they might wait to see what *London* wou'd do. Coll. *Danvers*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*, had giv'n the Duke great hopes of a rising, and had privately listed 3000 Horse in the City and Suburbs, to Rendezvous in *Epping Forrest*, the day

that News came of the Rout at Sedge-  
more.

This retreat of the Duke's was another false step, it disheartned his Men, who deserted by hundreds in a Company, on the King's Proclamation for 'em to lay down their Arms, and when they return'd near their Wives and Children, two Thirds of his Followers left him. His Army retreated to *Shepton Mallet*, and from thence march'd to *Wells*, where they read their Declaration, and Proclaim'd their King. Here they gave great Scandal to the Inhabitants, by their abusing their Power, and committing several Indecent Actions in the Cathedral. But that, as Sir Roger Manly says, *they plunder'd the City, Ravish'd the Women, or Drank their Villanous Healths at the Altar*, is notoriously false, and one wou'd think both he, and the writer of the *Gezette*, at this time had rather liv'd at *Rome* than at *London*: So erroneous have they been in their accounts of Events, Names and Places. The Author of this History has taken his Memoirs from Persons who were in the Action, of which himself was in part an Eye-witness, and has not depended on any Information, but what he has from Men of undoubted Veracity. From *Wells* the Duke return'd by *Glastenbury* to *Bridgwater*, where he call'd a Council of War, and 'twas re-  
solv'd,

solv'd, to fortify themselves in that place, till they cou'd hear from London. But the Earl of Faversham did not give them time to furnish their Works.

He follow'd them to Shepton Mallet, thence to Glastonbury, and on Saturday came himself to Weston, 3 Miles from Bridgewater. He Quarter'd his Horse in that little Town in Middlesey Otherry, and the Villages about it. His Foot, consisting of about 4000 Men, Encamp'd on Sedgemoor, between Weston and Bridgewater, having a Ditch before them, and 6 Field Pieces to defend the Bridge over it, in the direct Road to Bridgwater.

When the Duke of Monmouth heard of the approach of the King's Army, he went up into the Tower of the Church, attended by his Officers, to see 'em make their Encampment on the Moor, and when he had observ'd the posture of the Enemy, he return'd to the Castle, and held a Council of War, where 'twas unanimously agreed to attack the Earl of Faversham that very night. The Country People had given him intelligence, that the King's Forces, especially the Horse were very remiss; the Troopers were a Bed, and the Foot revelling in their Camp. So that the Duke said, *They shoud have no*

more to do, than to Lock up the Stable doors, and seize the Troopers in their Beds. It being resolv'd to fight, his Men were order'd to be in a readiness to march, but they were not told where till 11 a Clock Sunday night, and then they began their march, without Drum beating or Trumpet sounding, and all were forbad to fire a piece, till they were in *Feversham's Camp*. The Guide that promis'd to lead 'em thither a By-way, conducted 'em by *Chedsey* to that part of *Sedgmore*, where *Dunbarton's Regiment* was post-ed. Some of those *Scotsmen* had serv'd under the Duke of *Monmouth*, and amidst their Revels were wise enough to remember their Old General's Conduct, and said among themselves, that being so near, 'twas very probable he wou'd have information of their negligence, and attack 'em that night, so 100 of the Regiment resolv'd to be upon their Guard, and lye upon their Arms. However they had been caught with all their caution, had not the Duke's Guide happen'd to lead his Men above the Ford, and they not having patience to wait his motions, ran disorderly as fast as they cou'd over the Ditch to come at the Enemy, by which means they lost their Guide, and a Pistol accidentally going off, allarm'd those of *Dunbarton's Regiment*, who had mutually agreed to lye all night out of their Tents on their Arms, they

imme-

immediately rose, put themselves in order, and receiv'd their Enemies with their wonted Valour. Thus the Fight began between the Foot on both sides. The Duke of Monmouth's Men, raw and undisciplin'd as they were, fought so well, that they put the Kings into disorder; tho' they shot over their Front, yet they did such execution in the Rear, that the Royalists retreated into Weston, and had the Dukes Soldiers done as good execution on the Front, *He had in all probability at that single blow decided the Fortune of England.* The Dukes Men began the engagement with a Volley of Shot and Shouts, and the Duke seeing they did their Duty so well, order'd the Lord Grey to bring up his Horse, which were ordinary Marsh Mares and Colts that woud'n stand the noise of Guns and Drums. Two of his best Troops Commanded by Captain Hewling were the day before detach'd to bring off some Cannon from Mynehead, and did not return till after the defeat, to which their absence very much contributed. The Lord Grey advanc'd to charge 3 or 4 times, but his Horse wou'd not stand firing. Oglethorp coming up with a Party of Horse, and after him Sir Francis Compton with the Earl of Oxford's Regiment, and the Horse Guards, the Lord Grey retir'd and quitted the Field, not without great suspicion of Treason. The Duke finding, that

tho Treachery or Negligence, his Baggage was not come into the Moor, and that the Foot who still stood firm, wanted Ammunition, retir'd with the Lord Grey. The Horse disperst, and every Man went his way, about 50 of the best attended the Duke, and the King's Cavalry advancing, and the Artillery being brought to bear on the Duke's Men, the Victory, which was before doubtful, began to incline to the Royalists side. The Bishop of *Winchester* having taken his Coach-horses for expedition, put 'em to draw the Carriages, and rally'd the Kings Soldiers that were flying. The Duke's crying out in vain for Ammunition after a brave resistance gave ground, and about 42 Clock on *Monday* Morning were entirely routed. 300 kill'd on the spot, 1000 in the pursuit, as many Prisoners taken, those of note, were Coll. *Holms* and Major *Perrot*, who were both dangerously Wounded, Capt. *Madders*, and a menial Servant of the Duke's with his Cloak. The Duke's Army were 5000 Horse and Foot. The Kings rather more than less, and had *Monmouth's* Horse done their Duty, or been able to support the Foot in the beginning of the Battel. There's no doubt, but the Kings Forces, as Brave, and as well disciplin'd as they were, had been driv'n out of the Field. The consequence of which is easy to guess, for the next day *Danver's* and *Pey-*

ton's rising was to have been in *Essex*; that very day Mr *Vaughan* of *Somersetshire* wou'd have joyn'd the Duke with 1000 Men, and 'tis well known the Militia of the Southern Counties waited only an opportunity to do the same. But his misfortune made room for a happier change afterwards.

*Feverham* after the Fight sent out Parties to follow the Duke, who was advis'd to make down to *Uphill*, a small Creek on the *Severn Sea*, and from thence to get over into *Wales*, but he was for going to *Limington* in *Hampshire*, and on *Tuesday Morning* about 5 a Clock, being the 7th of *July*, the Lord *Grey* was taken in a disguise at *Holt Bridge* in *Dorsetshire*, by the Lord *Lumley*'s Men. And *Lumley* inquiring of the Cottagers, was inform'd by one *Anne Ferrant*, that two Men went over a Hedge, the Outbounds of many Inclosures overgrown with Fern, Pease and Oates, Guards were set on the Avenues, and about 5 in the Moorning the next day, after several Attempts to escape, the *German* Count was taken, who confess he parted with the Duke of *Monmouth* about one the same Morning, diligent search was made, and at last one *Perkin* discover'd him hid in a Ditch cover'd over with Fern, the Duke offering to make Resistance, the Fellow cry'd out help,

*Help, and Soldiers coming to his Assistance the Duke was taken, and secur'd by the Lord Lumly, who, under a strong Guard, convey'd him, the Lord Grey, and the German, by easy Journies, to London.*

The Duke wrote to the King from Ringwood the Day he was taken, to make his Submission, to Offer some Discovery, and desire to Speak with his Majesty. The 11th. of July they lay at Farnham, and arriv'd at London the 13th. The Duke was permitted to see the King, to give the late Queen an Opportunity to Insult him in his Despair, and Triumph over his Misery; She has her self since severely paid for her Arrogance. And after having been, in a great measure, the cause of King James's Misfortunes, she has, for these 15 Years, Liv'd in France on the French King's Alms, and now stands Attainted, by Act of Parliament. When the Duke saw there was nothing design'd by this Interview, but to Satisfy the Queen's Revenge, he rose from his Majesty's Feet with an Air, that shew'd he did not desire to Live out of Fear to Dye, for no Man ever behav'd himself more like a Hero, and a Christian, than he did afterwards. He was Examin'd by the King, and Sign'd a Declaration, That his Father told him, *He was never Married*

to his Mother, and then Committed to the Tower. He was carry'd thither with the Lord Grey, in the King's Barge, Guarded by others. He spent the short time he had to Live in preparing for the sad Hour he suddenly expected, and on Wednesday the 15th of July 1685, he was deliver'd to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, on a Warrant for his Execution. About 10 in the Morning he was Conducted by them to a Scaffold, built for that purpose, on Tower Hill, where he was impertinently, not to say Barbarously, teaz'd by two Clergy-Men, to declare for their Doctrin of *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance*. He desir'd them not to trouble him with such unseasonable Discourses. He said, *He repented of all his Sins in general, of the Blood spilt on his Account, and fear'd the ill Consequence of his Enterprize : That he dy'd in the Faith of this, 'That God wou'd work a Deliverance for his People, and then will be discover'd the great, horrid, and scarcely to be parallel'd Villanies our Enemies have been Guilty of ; adding, You see my Case is Desperate, yet know, I Dye a M A R T Y R for the People.* He hop'd King James wou'd shew himself of his Brother's Blood, and extend his Mercy to his Children, ev'n as he was won't to his greatest Enemies, they being not capable to Act,

and

and therefore not Conscious of any Offence against the Government. He stay'd on the Scaffold half an hour, then laid himself down to the Block, the Executioner, after the Sign giv'n, struck him first on the Shoulder; he rose himself a little, and lying down again, his Head was, at two Blows, sever'd from his Body, which was put in a black Velvet Coffin, and carry'd in a Velvet Hearse to the Tower, where 'twas bury'd in the Chappel.

A brave old Officer who came over with him, and since with King William, offer'd, with a small Party of Horse, to venture thro' all the Guards and bring him off, but they cou'd not be got together in time.

After his Death Jefferies, then Chief Justice, was sent into the West, where he hang'd, draw'd and quarter'd, 300 of the Duke's Followers, above 100 were hung on Trees and Sign Posts without Tryal, and 500 Sold to the *West-Indies*. This Jefferies paid the price of his cruelty by an Infamous Death in Prison, and Sir John Fenwick, the most busy Man in the House of Commons, to have the Bill for the Duke of Monmouth's Attainder pass quickly, dy'd on the same Scaffold, for Consipiring, with other Traytors, to bring on a French Invasion. King James himself making an ill use of his Success in suppressing this Insurrection,

rection, was so hasty to Introduce Popery and Slavery, that he forc'd his Subjects to a general defection 3 Years afterwards, and liv'd 13 Years in Exile in *France*, where he at last dy'd in the Year 1701.

The Duke of *Monmouth* left, by his Incomparable Lady the Dutches of *Buccleugh*, two Sons, the Lord *James*, Earl of *Dalkeith*, and the Lord *Henry*. The Eldest marry'd to a Daughter of the Earl of *Rochester's*, and the Youngest a Guidon of her Majeſty's Life Guard of Horse.

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## P A R T II.

Containing the

# L I V E S

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Admiral *de Ruyter*, Viscount  
*de Turenne*, Prince of *Condé*,  
Admiral *Tromp*, and the  
Duke of *Lorain*.

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THE  
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ADMIRAL  
*Mich. Adrian de Ruyter.*

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P A R T II.

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**S**Ince that Nobility is certainly most glorious, which is owing to a Man's Self, deriv'd from Noble Actions. Admiral *De Ruyter* may justly be rank'd among the most Noble; who by his Vertue and Valour rose from a private Burghers Son of *Flushing* in *Zealand*, to the Quality of Duke, Created so by the King of *Spain* with a Pension of two thousand

A a 2                      Ducats

Ducats a year : By the French King made Knight of the Order of St. Michael: Carest by the King of Portugal : Ennobled by the King of Denmark : Belov'd and Honour'd by his Masters the States-General of the United Provinces The Glory of his own Nation, and the Terror of his Enemies. He was born at *Flushing*, March 24. 1607. His Father's name was *Adrian Michael*, his Mother's *Alida Jans Ruyter*, which he retain'd. He was bred to the Sea, and at eleven years of Age put on Ship-board. He was Cabin-Boy, Sailor, Cook, Mate, Pilot, Master, of a Ship ; Commander of a Squadron, Rear-Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and at last Lieutenant-Admiral-General, of the Dutch Fleets. He was at first a Master in Merchants Ships to *France*, *Barbary*, *Sale*, *Sancta Cruz*, and the *West-Indies*, whither he made nine several Voyages. He was us'd to pass from *Holland* to *Ireland*, and was at *Dublin* when the Irish Rebels woud have taken that City. He serv'd at Land as a Cannoneer at *Bergen op zoom*, besieg'd by *Spinole*; but the Land not being his Element, he return'd to the Sea. In 1633. he was Pilot of a Ship to *Greenland*. In 1637. he had a Cruiser giv'n him, in which he took several small Vessels. In 1640. he was again Master of a Merchant-Ship, and made a Voyage to *Braſil*. His first considerable Command was in 1641. as Captain of a Man of War call'd the *Han-*

*sen*

sent with a Squadron to *Portugal*; which had then thrown off the *Spanish* Yoke. In this Expedition he was made Rear-Admiral; the third of *November* the Squadron engag'd the *Spanish* Fleet, consisting of eighty Ships of War, great and small. *De Ruyter* drove into the midst of the Enemy, and sustain'd their Shot till his Ship began to take water in several places: however he brought her off, and with her another of the Squadron which had follow'd him. He chas'd a Galeon and a *Dunkirker*, and had infallibly taken one of them, had not the Ship that was in his Company sunk, and while he was saving her Men, the Enemy got off. At *Lisbon* he was receiv'd honourably by the King of *Portugal* and his whole Court. He took a *Spanish* Ship richly Laden, and brought her safe into *Flushing*. He after this went into the *West-Indies*, and clear'd himself of two *Spanish* Ships, who attack'd him there, the least as strong as himself. At another time being with the *Salamander* in the Road of *Salley*, when the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and three other Corsaires of *Algiers*, came to make themselves Masters of the Place, and the *Dutch* being then at Peace with the *Sally-men*; *De Ruyter* did not stay till the *Turks* attack'd him, but fell immediately on their Admiral, who made away, and giving the rest a Broadside or two, they hied off in the same manner. These Pirats

never being willing to Fight where there is nothing to be got but Blows. This Engagement hapned in sight of the Town, and the *Moors* were so highly pleas'd with their Deliverer that they forc'd him to enter *Salle* on Horseback in Triumph. Several other Rencounters he was in of less Importance, and had got so much Money by his Service in the Fleet, and his Trading Voyages, that he resolv'd to go no more to Sea, when War broke out with *England*, till three of the States Deputies went and beg'd him for his Countries sake to go. The first distinguishing Action he did was in the year 1652. on a Rupture between the Republicks of *England* and *Holland*, he was order'd with thirty Men of War, himself in the *Neptune* (the biggest) of thirty four Guns, to Convoy sixty Merchantmen, through the Channel; and there he met Sir *George Ayscue* with forty Ships of War, and engag'd him off of *Plimouth*. *De Ruyter* boarded the *English* Admiral, and was as warmly receiv'd by Sir *George*. Both Parties signaliz'd themselves in this Rencounter till night parted them. The *English* return'd to *Plimouth*, and the *Dutch* convoy'd their Merchants through the Channel. *De Ruyter* wou'd have attack'd *Ayscue* in the Road, but his Council of War was against it. In his return he was joyn'd by the *Sieur Witte Wittensz* with another Squadron of Men of War in the Straights

Straights of *Calais*, and their Fleet consisted now of Sixty Ships. Admiral *Blake* was ready to Sail with his *English* Fleet, and *De Ruyter* loth to lose the Reputation he had acquir'd in saving his Convoy, was for retreating homewards; *Witte Wittensz* being Chief Commander, and of another opinion, he was forc'd to comply. The Fleet was divided into three Bodies, *Witte Wittensz* Commanded the main Body with *De Ruyter*, *Cornelius Evertsen* the Vanguard, and the *Sieur de Wilde* the Rear. In this order *Blake* found 'em, and the 18th. of October the Fight began, and continu'd all day to the Advantage of the *English*; *De Ruyter* having the best part of his Men kill'd or Wounded. The next day Sir *George Ayscue* joyn'd the *English* with Sixteen Ships, and *Witte Wittensz* wou'd renew the Combat, which *De Ruyter* oppos'd, alledging they ought not on such light grounds to hazard a Fleet the States had trusted them with. His Reasons prevail'd, and the *Dutch* retir'd to the *Goree*, being pursu'd closely by Admiral *Blake*. The Year following 1653. the States set out a Navy of Seventy Men of War, and the 28. of February Admiral *Blake* met them. The *Dutch* had Two hundred Merchant-Ships in their Convoy. They fought three Days, and *Blake* took most of their Merchant-Ships. *De Ruyter* was Commodore of this Convoy, who be-

hav'd himself with his wonted Courage; but cou'd not hinder the *English*, under the best Sea-Officer that ever this Nation cou'd boast of, from making half his Merchant-Ships Prize: yet *De Ruyter* took an *English* Ship call'd the *Prosperity*, and wrote to the States a large account of the Battle, which did not in all things agree with *Blake's* Letter to his Masters the Parliament of *England*. We are not so large in the Description of this Engagement, nor of the following, having particularly describ'd them in the Life of General *Blake*. The *Dutch* made home with the reliques of their Ships, and fitting out another, and a larger Convoy, they carry'd them through the Channel. In their return they met *Blake* off of *Newport*, and there began the fourth Battle, in which the *Dutch* Admiral (the elder *Tromp*) was in great danger of being Taken or Sunk by *Pen*, had not *De Ruyter* come to his assistance, and clear'd his Admiral. The *English* were again Conquerors in this Engagement. The *Dutch* returning to their Harbours were follow'd by the *English*, who harrass't their Coasts, as is elsewhere related. *De Ruyter* was presented with a Gold Chain worth One hundred and forty Pound for his good Service; and the States sent out a larger Fleet, which sail'd the beginning of *August*, and on the 10. of *Aug. N. S.* met the *English* Commanded by *Monk*, and fought a

fifth Battle with the same ill Fortune, though this Victory cost *Monk* dear, by losing a great many fine Officers. *Tromp* the elder was kill'd by a shot in the left Pap, whose Death *De Ruyter* in the Left Wing severely reveng'd; though he was so disabled he was forc'd to turn out of the Battel to the *Goree*, for which he was blam'd; it being said, he shou'd have gone aboard another Ship, when the Admiral was kill'd. The *Dutch* now weary of War, courted the *English* Common-Wealth to a Peace, which was concluded the 5. of April, N. S. 1654. But the *English* having still War with *Spain*, were very rude with the *Dutch* Ships in search of Counterband Goods: which the States order'd *De Ruyter*, who was sent for the security of their Trade in the *Mediteranean*, to prevent, and repel Force by Force; yet their High and Mightinesses fearing to offend the Victorious Republick of *England*, revok'd those Orders; at which *De Ruyter* was heartily griev'd, and told them in a Letter, that Men of Courage and Honour cou'd not bear the Insults of the *English*, and beg'd to have leave to right his Countrymen by Arms; but the States were more willing to get Justice by Memorials to the Parliament of *England*. *De Ruyter* in the *Mediteranean* took Eighteen *Turks* Men of War, and hung up the famous Renegado *Amanda Dijis*, who had

had taken and sold Nine thousand Christians, and threatned his Father, Mother, Brethren, and Sisters with the same Fate. He took the Admiral, and four the biggest Ships of *Algiers*. He sunk the *Catarine* mounted with Ninety pieces of Cannon: and the *Golden Eagle* of Twenty eight Guns he brought into *Cales*. He freed Six hundred Christians from Slavery, and safely Convoy'd Home the Silver Fleet, and other rich Ships to their Ports in *Holland*. In 1656. he was sent with Thirty Men of War into the *Sound*, himself aboard a Ship of Sixty Guns, and three hundred and fifty Men. This Fleet was to Protect the *Dantzicks* against the *Swedes*, who were Masters in *Poland*, and threatned that City, then in Alliance with the States of the *United Provinces*. In the *Sound* he was joyn'd by *Monsieur Opdam* with three more Ships, with which having terrifi'd the *Swedes* into a Peace with *Dantzick*, he return'd Home. The 14 of December the same Year, he was again order'd into the *Mediterranean* with some Ships of War to Convoy a Fleet of Merchant Ships, and repel the *Turkish* Pirats, and others who Rob'd in that Sea. The *French* had taken several *Dutchmen* on the Coasts of *Provence*, and the *Dutch* Embassador being not able to procure Reparation in *France*, the States Commission'd *De Ruyter* to seize any of those Privateers, who accordingly

accordingly took *De Lande* in the *Queen*, and *De Ignac* in the *Hunter*. The taking of these Ships had like to have made a breach between the *French* and *Dutch*, which by the Mediation of the Protector *Oliver Cromwel*, and the Republick of *Venice*, was accommodated. The *French* King demanded Justice on *De Ruyter*, whom the States of all the Provinces own'd, and vigorously defended. Cardinal *Mazarin* hector'd the *Dutch* Ambassador *Boreel*, who for answering boidly was said by *De Thou*, Ambassador from the *French* King at the *Hague*, to have been almost guilty of *Leze Majesté*. However when the *Dutch* began to Arm, and Equip a Fleet of Sixty Sail, to vindicate their Admiral and their Rights, Cardinal *Mazarin* and the *French* King, were pleas'd to accept of an Accommodation offer'd by the Republicks of *England* and *Venice*. This Dispute over, another happen'd with *Portugal* about the Restitution of *Brasil*, part whereof the *Portuguese* had taken from the *Dutch*. Monsieur *Opdam* was order'd with a Squadron to *Lisbon* to demand Satisfaction, and on denial to declare War, which he did, and Admiral *De Ruyter* coming up with his Ships, they Cruis'd at the Mouth of the River of *Lisbon*, in expectation of the *Brasil* Fleet. Which staying longer than was thought they wou'd, the *Dutch* believ'd they had notice of them, and were preparing to return Home when  
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the Fleet appear'd. *De Ruyter* took a Ship loaden with Six hundred Chests of Sugar, the rest of the Squadrons follow'd his example, and brought off in all twenty Ships richly laden, which were some Compensation for their Losses by the faithless *Portuguese* in the *West-Indies*. *Monsieur Opdam* was in 1658. order'd with a Fleet of Men of War to aid the *Danes*, over-powr'd by the *Swedes*, and Vice-Admiral *De Ruyter* in the Year 1659. with another. The *English* had also Forty two Men of War in the *Sound* under Admiral *Montague* to observe the *Dutch*, and bring the two Northern Crowns to an agreement, So that there were Forty two *English*, Eighty two *Dutch*, Forty eight *Swedes*, and Thirty *Danes*; in all Two hundred Sail of Men of War in the *Sea*. *Opdam* was not very successful, which was the Reason of the States ordering *De Ruyter* into the *Sound*. Five thousand Men, Commanded by Colonel *Killegrew*, were put aboard his Fleet at *Kiel*, in *Royal Holstein*, who landed at *Kortemunde* in the Isle of *Funen*, then possest by the *Swedes*: he was the first that ventur'd out in his Boat, and though two Sailers were kill'd on each side of him, he made still to the Shoar, and thereby encourag'd the rest to follow him. The *Swedes* had Five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Three thousand Foot in this Isle. The *Danes* and their Confederates

were

were about Three thousand Horse, and Four thousand Foot. When *De Ruyter* had landed his Men, he sail'd to *Nybourg* with the Dutch Fleet, and the Danes Commanded by the Rear-Admiral *Bieche*. Admiral *Mountague* was then driving on an Intreague with *Monk* to Restore King *Charles II.* which being Ripe for Execution, made hast out of the Sound before *De Ruyter* had finish'd the Expedition of *Nybourg*. He came in sight of the place, the 22. of November, where he cou'd see the Confederates and *Swedes* Engage the 24. He order'd Six Men of War to Post themselves to the North of the Town, while he with the rest of the Fleet batter'd two Forts, drove the *Swedes* out of them, and planted Dutch Colours instead of the *Swedish*, which he pull'd down. The next day he came so near the Town that he cou'd Play on it with his Cannon, which he did so furiously that they sent out a Trumpeter to pray him to forbear, for they were ready to Surrender at Discretion. During this Cannonading from the Fleet, the Army ashore had defeated the *Swedes*, kill'd Two thousand, taken as many, and the rest were got into the Town. *De Ruyter* answer'd, he wou'd give them but an hour to consider, and if they did not resolve in that time he wou'd beat down the Town about their Ears. The hour being out, he fit'd again as before, till a Boat came off with

with a Letter from the *Danish* General thanking him extremely for his assistance and to inform him the Town had yielded at Discretion. Thus was the Island of *Fynnen* deliver'd up to the King of *Denmark* in fifteen days. Six thousand *Swedes* were made Prisoners, and Two thousand kill'd: Duke *Weymar* and all the Officers taken, except the Prince of *Sultzbach*, and General *Steenbeck*, who sav'd themselves in a Boat. The King of *Sweden* sicken'd and dy'd on the News. Propositions of Peace were made between the two Crowns, and a Suspension of Arms agreed on. During this Suspension things were to remain in their present state, and there being Ten *Swedes* Men of War at *Landsroon*, *De Ruyter* staid before the Port to prevent their going out. The *Swedes* came forth pretending to go to *Stockholm* for Provisions. *De Ruyter* order'd the Admiral aboard, and ask'd him how he durst pass by his Fleet with his Ships. The *Swede* told him they were coming only to *Stockholm*, that he had no Command to do the *Dutch* any Injury, whatever they did to him. The *Dutch* Admiral reply'd, that he was not order'd to treat the *Swedes* as Enemies; but if such an Order came, he wou'd be as bad to them as he cou'd, and wou'd be glad if they were the same to him, since the more Resistance he met with, the greater wou'd be his Honour; adding, if the *Swedes*

Swedes had a mind not to be treated like Enemies, they must stay where they were. When the *Swedish* Ambassadors heard this, they immediately Sign'd the Treaty of Peace, *May 27. 1660.* fearing they shou'd otherwise lose those ten Ships. As soon as the *Swedes* had evacuated the places they possest in *Denmark*, to that King *Frederick III.* *De Ruyter* Embark'd his *Dutch* Auxiliaries, and return'd to *Holland*; the King of *Denmark* by his Letters Patents of *August 1. 1662.* having ennobled him and his Posterity with a Pension of Eight hundred Crowns a Year. In 1661 the States resolv'd to fit out a Squadron of Men of War and light Ships, for the security of their Subjects Trade. *De Ruyter* had the Command, who clear'd the Coasts of Privateers and Capers; and then Convoy'd a Fleet of Merchant-Ships into the *Mediterranean*, where he Cruis'd six Weeks without meeting a *Turk*, at last he ran the *Half Moon* of *Tunis* ashore in the Bay of *Tunis*, setting Forty Christian Slaves at liberty. The 22. of *February* he arriv'd before that City, and made Peace with the King. Thence he went to *Algiers*, and humbled those *Corsairs*, entring into a Treaty with them also: Though at the same time they refus'd to Treat with *Sir John Lawson*, Vice-Admiral, who was there for that purpose with Six *English* Ships of War. The *Algerines* had then

then Twenty Men of War, three more ready to Launch, and were resolv'd to build Six more, The *Dutch Admiral* wrote to the States that there were Eleven hundred *Dutchmen* Slaves, and One thousand Foreigners taken in *Dutch Ships*, who were to be freed on the Ratification of the Articles which he sent 'em the 16. of April 1662, from *Alicant*. By this Treaty, the *Turks* might take any Goods out of the *Dutch Ships* which did not belong to *Dutch Merchants*; which Article the States refus'd to ratifie. On their refusal, *De Ruyter* wrote home, that the People of *Algier* said, They wou'd rather die than make a Peace on other Terms, and if they did it, they might burn their Ships and go a begging. The *Barbarians* agreed to that Article at last, but when the *Dutch* were gone, they broke the Treaty. While *de Ruyter* was at *Malaga* and *Alicant*, one of his Squadron took two *Turks* Men of War, and releas'd seventy Christian Slaves. In the Road of *Malaga*, a *Spanish* Ship then lay, whose Crew came out in their Long-boat, and forc'd the Quarter-Master of the *Dutch Vice-Admiral* aboard, took down the *Dutch Colours* which he bore in his Boat, set up the *Spanish*, and rail'd at the States. *De Ruyter* demanded Justice of the *Alcaide* and *Fiscal*, which being delay'd, he wrote to his Masters for leave to prosecute the Criminals in his own way, and revenge the Honour of his Nation. He stay'd in the *Streights* almost

a Year

Two Years, and arriv'd with a rich Fleet of Merchant Ships in *Holland*, in the Spring, Ann. 1663, where he receiv'd Thanks of the States for his good Service. In 1664, he was commanded with another Squadron of Eighteen Men of War to *Algier*, and arriv'd there in *June*, and treated for the Redemption of Christian Slaves; thence he went to *Cadiz*, where he met Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, with the *English* Squadron; the States apprehensive of a Rupture between the Crown of *England* and the Republick of *Holland*, gave their Admiral notice to be upon his Guard. If we wou'd be impartial, we must confess here, that whatever Reason our Merchants had to complain of the *Dutch*; Mons. *Van Goch*, their Ambassadors offers to end things amicably, were most expedient, and had not the *Roman Catholicks* promoted the War, it never had been prosecuted by the *English*. Captain *Holms*, before any Declaration, attack'd the *Dutch* at *Guinea*, made himself Master of several Forts, and of *Cape de Verd*, thence sail'd to, and seiz'd *New-Holland*, by Commission from the Duke of *Tork*, then Lord High-Admiral. This Monsieur *Van Goch* represented in his Memorial to the King, and in an Audience of an hour and half, King *Charles* wou'd hear of nothing less than the Payment of the Charge he had been at to equip *Holms's* Squadron and others, before he wou'd enter into a Treaty.

In the Ambassador's Audience with the Duke, he endeavour'd to bring Matters to an accommodation, the Duke told him in an angry Tone, He was resolv'd to go himself to Sea, and defend the Honour of the People of *England*, that things shou'd not stop where they did ; that he wou'd head the Fleet and try his Fortune, and that by the Zeal and Warmth of the People, might be seen they were also resolv'd to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in the Cause. And doubtless, the People of *England* wou'd have done it with better Success, had they not soon discover'd who were the Contrivers of this War, to the Destruction of the Protestant Interest. His Royal Highness spoke like a Hero, and he had reasons ; for, besides that his Threats were directed to a Protestant, Capt. *Holms*, by his Commission, committed the first Acts of Hostility. The *Dutch* the 29th. of January 1665, put out an Order for Reprisals, and King *Charles* presently after publish'd his Declaration of War. From *Cales*, *de Ruyter* was commanded to the *West-Indies* with Twelve stout Ships ; they were first to go to *Guinea*, and the 5th. of October they sail'd by *Lawson*, who was at Anchor before *Rotta*, and the next Day held a Council of War, where 'twas resolv'd to retake the Isle of *Gorea* from the *English*. This Island is near *Cape-Verd*, was taken from the *Dutch* the Year before by Capt. *Holms*. The 22d. the Fleet

Fleet arriv'd there, where they found seven Merchant Ships, one *English* Royal Frigot, and a Yacht. The Ships surrendred immediately, and the Governour hung out a white Flag at the Fort, which he deliver'd up on Condition, to save his Garrison's Lives, and to let 'em carry off what they had in the Fort. There were in it, Forty Pieces of Cannon, and Fifty Soldiers, with Provision, Ammunition, &c. for a long Defence; but Garrisons and Forts ought not to be trusted to Merchants, who thro' Covetousness or Cowardice, expose too often the Honour of their Country. *De Ruyter* put the Officer and Garrison aboard a small Ship to go where they pleas'd; then having settled Affairs at *Gorea*, he sail'd forward to the Coast of *Sierra Leona*, where the *English* had a Factory, and a small Fort mounted with six Guns, the *Dutch* seiz'd and demolish'd both the Fort and the Factory; they found here also store of Merchandise, Elephant's Teeth, Iron Bars, &c. The 5th. of January, they anchor'd before *Tecoray*, where the *English* had taken the Castle of *Witsen* from the *Dutch*, which *de Ruyter* summon'd, and the Garrison refusing to surrender, the Fleet drew nearer, and cannonaded the Castle. The Garrison defend'd themselves bravely, the Admiral landed his Soldiers who were vigorously receiv'd by the Natives for a while. The *Negroes* flying, the *English* capitulated soon after, and

an English Ship, call'd the *Victory*, of thirty four Guns and sixty Men was taken. The 9th. of January, the *Dutch* took the *St. Martha*, of twenty Guns and forty Men richly laden. The 6th. of Febraruay, they left *Witsen*, and coasted along by the Castle of the *Mine*, and by *Capcorse Castle* a great English Factory, which they in vain attempted to Conquer, yet the *English* were forced to blow up the Fort of *Anemabo*, and the next Day being the 7th. of February, Admiral *de Ruyter* came before *Cormentine-Castle*; which Factory, after a brave Resistance by the *Negroes* and the Garrison, he master'd. Thence he return'd to the Castle of the *Mine*, and having fitted for the Voyage, sail'd to the *West-Indies*; arriving the 30th. of April, 1665. before *Barbadoes*, cannonaded the Forts of the *Bridge-Town*, which return'd his Fire so warmly, that the *Dutch* Fleet were forc'd to draw off. At *Newfoundland* he took eight Prizes, and having cruis'd up and down some time, arriv'd with his Riches safely in *Holland* the 6th. of August 1665. tho' the *English* endeavour'd to intercept him in his return. In his absence, he was made Lieutenant-Admiral by the College of *Amsterdam*, and his Presence was a great Incouragement to the *Dutch*, who had lost their Admiral *Opdam* in a Battle fought with the *English* the 12th. of June 1665. he was blown up in the *Concord*, a Ship mounted with 84 Pieces of Cannon, and mann'd with

500 Men, of whom, but three Common Sailors escap'd. The *Dutch* were 103 Sail of stout Ships, besides Yachts and Fire-ships. The *English* 100, the Duke of *York* was aboard the Fleet, and the Victory was indisputably on the side of the *English*. The Duke of *Monmouth*, Prince *Rupert*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Sandwich* were also in the Battel of *Lestoffe*. The *English* took nine Ships, and burnt and sunk as many, losing only the *Charity*, a fourth Rate, tho' several brave Officers lost their Lives, Rear-Admiral *Sampson*, Earl of *Malborough*, Earl of *Portland*, Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskery*, Mr. *Boyl*, and others of Note. The *English* drove the *Dutch* into their very Ports, and thence sail'd Northward to wait for the *East-India* Ships, which put into *Bergen* in *Norway*, and were there attack'd by the *English*, who met with such furious Reception from their Convoy and Castle, that they were oblig'd to leave that rich Fleet to pursue their Voyage home. We must always speak Truth, whether for, or against us, and in this unnatural War, 'tis not to be wonder'd if the *English* did not behave themselves with their usual Courage, for the best part of the Nation declar'd against it, knowing every Blow given to the *Dutch*, was a Wound to the *English*, whose true Interest Sir *Walter Rawleigh* observ'd in their Infancy, is inseparable from the Interest of *England*, whatever may be the Spirit

of some of their Merchants, and of some of ours. In *August* 1665. *de Ruyter* was made Lieutenant-Admiral-General of the *Dutch* Fleets, the next immediate Command to the Prince of *Orange*, Hereditary Admiral of the *United Provinces*. The States order'd the Sieur *Huygens*, the Pensionary *de Wit*, and the Sieur *Boreel* aboard the Fleet, to direct, counsel and inspect. *De Wit* went aboard the Admiral *de Ruyter's* Ship, and the Fleet being equipp'd, sail'd from the *Texel* to seek the *English*, who were gone home to rest and refresh; not meeting them, as they desir'd, the Admiral pursu'd his Voyage to *Bergen* to Convoy home the *East-India* Ships, and others in that Port: the 26th. of *August*, he arriv'd at *Bergen*, whence the Deputies aboard wrote to the States, that they were extreamly well pleas'd with Admiral *de Ruyter's* Conduct and his Discipline in the Fleet, and that they did not now doubt, but to be reveng'd of their Enemies. The 18th. they sail'd with their Convoy of Merchant Ships from *Bergen*, but were separated from them in bad Weather, and the *English* Fleet off the *Dogger-Sands*, fell in with part of 'em, which they took, being five Men of War, two *East-India* Ships and other Merchant-Men, a terrible Loss to the *Dutch*, who kept the Sea till the latter end of the Summer: the Weather then forcing them into their Ports, they disarm'd, to prepare for the Summer Expedition.

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tion. The *English Fleet* commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, arriv'd in *Southwold-Bay*, the great Ships went up the River *Thames* to *Chatham*, and thus finish'd this Year to the Advantage of *England*, tho' little considering the Opportunities they had. The *English Ambassador*, Sir *George Downing*, was in the Winter insulted at the *Hague* by the Rabble; and Monsieur *Van Goch* fearing as ill Usage at *London*, retir'd, as Sir *George* had done before. The *French King* affected the Year following to aid the *Hollanders*, and on his Pretences, a feign'd War was declar'd in *England* against him to please the People, while King *Charles's* Ministers prepar'd to pursue the *Dutch* with a true. The Substance of the last Period of his Majesty's Declaration of War with the *French King*, of the 9th. of *February*, Old Stile, we think worth mentioning; 'That if any of the Subjects of *France*, 'or of the States of the *United Provinces*, 'either out of Affection to Us, or our Go- 'vernment, or thro' Oppression in their own 'Country, shall come and Inhabit in our 'Kingdoms, they shall be protected in their 'Persons and Goods, and especially those of 'the Reformed Religion, whose Interests we 'will always join to our own. The Sieur *Van Goch* parted from *London* the 26th of *December*: at his arrival in *Holland*, he prais'd mightily the Civility of the King, but said, the Duke of *York* breath'd nothing but War.

B b 4

Monsieur

Monsieur *Van Goch* presented a Letter to the King before his departure, from the *States* his Masters, offering Peace, which his Ma-jesty answer'd by another to their High and Mightinesses at *Oxford*, the 16th. of December 1665. wherein he is pleas'd to say, ' He is extreamly sensible of the Ills which may fall on all Christendom, by the continuation of the War, and of the disadvantageous Con-sequences it may have to the Protestant Re-ligion, which is infinitely more dear to us than any Interest of State. However, the War was continued, my Lord *Hollis* recall'd from *France*, on the *French* King's pre-tending to assist the *Dutch*, who in his Au-dience of Leave, tells *Lewis XIV*. That the Parliament was so ready to assist his Ma-jesty of *England* in this War, that they wou'd willingly give one Half of the Revenues of *England*, and rather than fail, three Quar-ters, to carry it on vigorously. *De Ruyter* and his Fleet, consisting of Ninety one stout Ships, mounted with Four thousand seven hundred and sixteen Cannon, Nineteen thou-sand one hundred and forty nine Sea-men, and Three thousand three hundred and thir-teen Soldiers, put to Sea, and anchor'd off *Dunkirk*, the 11th. of June 1666. where the *English* Fleet under General *Monk* met and attack'd them, he had with him Seventy one Men of War, Four thousand four hundred and thirty seven Cannon, Twenty one thou-sand

sand two hundred and seven Sea-men; he was afterward joyn'd by Prince *Rupert* with Twenty Ships more. The Fight begun by the Admirals *Van Trump* the younger, and *Van Meppel*, who were but a little before *de Ruyter*, after an Engagement of three Hours, the *English* tack'd to the *North*, and Sir *George Aſcue* with two or three other Ships of the White Squadron were divided from the rest of the Fleet, and fell into the Hands of the *Dutch*. The 12th. Admirals *Evertſen* and *de Uriez* fought the *English*, and *de Ruyter* engag'd *Monk*, but left him to succour Admiral *Tromp*, who was Fighting disadvantageously with the Main Body of the *English*; *Monk* at Noon made off, after a very bloody Battel. The 13th. Prince *Rupert* came up, and then the *English* return'd to the Fight, which continu'd till Night parted 'em, by favour of which, the Duke of *Albemarle* retreated with his shatter'd Fleet. The Fleets fought their way thro' each other three several times. The *Dutch* took six *English* Ships, and had as many of their own funk. The *English* had also six or seven Ships burnt. Both sides claim'd the Victory; Rejoycings were made, and Thanksgivings paid in *England* and *Holland*. This was one of the bloodiest Battles that ever was fought at Sea, and the *Dutch* must be acknowledg'd to have the best; if *de Ruyter* dated his Letter right to the States: 'From on board the Ship call'd

call'd the Seven Provinces, giving chase to the English, who are retreating to the W. N.W. of the Maze, half Seas over, the 14th. of June 1666. A large Account of this Engagement is in the Life of the Duke of Albemarle, and more to the Honour of the English. Whatever Advantage the Dutch had, was wholly owing to their Admiral de Ruyter. Before the Fight, he was continually employ'd in Preparation for it, and Encouraging his Officers, Soldiers and Sea-men, to do their Duty, and had this particular Passage in his Speech to 'em, ' We ought not to fear our Enemies, neither shou'd we despise them, for we have to do with Men very expert in Maritime Affairs, and for this Reason, we ought constantly to resolve either to Conquer or to Die. De Ruyter sunk a Ship of the Blue Squadron by his side, mounted with fifty Guns. The Prince de Monaco and the Count de Guiche, French Volunteers were aboard the Duyven-Voorde, commanded by Captain Trelong, and burnt by the English, most of her Equipage and Men were sav'd. I ho' Prince Rupert joyn'd General Monk with Twenty fresh Ships: de Ruyter had a Dozen fresh in reserve, to oppose him. His Highness charg'd the Enemy three times in the last Battel, but Admiral Ruyter getting the Wind of him with eleven Ships, fell on his Squadron so fiercely, as put it in confusion; the

Dutch

Dutch Admiral pursu'd the *English*, till a Mist rose so thick, that they cou'd not keep them in view, so fearing to strike on the Sands on the Coast of *England*, he return'd home with his Fleet. This Victory was more Glorious, being to use the words of the *Dutch* themselves, obtain'd over an Enemy that had not yet learnt to be beaten. The Enemy were certainly twenty Ships stronger than the *English*, till Prince *Rupert* joyn'd 'em. The Order of Admiral *de Ruyter's* Lines was admirable, and the *English* cou'd not with their utmost Efforts break it. He was several times in these three Days Engagement, boarded by the *English* Fire-ships, and he clear'd himself with equal Skill and Courage, and pushing amid his Enemies, fought as well like a common Sea-man, as he counsell'd like an experienc'd Captain, yet came off without the least hurt. The *Royal-Prince*, wherein Sir *George Ascœ* was taken, struck on the Sands, or he had sav'd his Ship, one of the best in the *English* Fleet, and the same that King *Charles* came over in, when he was restor'd by *Monk*. The *States* order'd the Ships that were taken to be burnt, and this was destroy'd with the rest; Sir *George* was carry'd Prisoner to the *Hague*, and thence to the Castle of *Louvestein*, whence he wrote to the King the 20th. of June New-Stile, 1666. In his Letter he has these Expressions, 'We attack'd the Enemy successfully two or three times,

' times, but our Fleet being much less than  
' theirs, was not capable to resist them. And  
' (what is not usual) we observ'd our Men  
' at first were frighten'd and in great Terror.  
The Ambassadors of the Emperor, Sweden and  
Denmark were at a vast Expence upon the  
Thanksgiving Day at the Hague; and the  
French Ambassador to shew his Joy too, made  
the Streets run with Wine. The Mediation  
of the King of Sweden was now accepted for  
a Peace, yet Preparations for War were still  
continu'd on both sides. Sir William Berkley  
Vice-Admiral was kill'd in this Battel, whose  
Body the States order'd to be Embalm'd,  
and wrote a Letter to the King of England the  
10th. of July N. S. to know how his Ma-  
jesty wou'd dispose of it. Which Letter his  
Majesty answer'd the 4th. of August, to thank  
'em for their Civility, and to desire the Body  
might be sent to England, to be bury'd with  
his Ancestors, and he tells them further, his  
Victories have not exalted him so much, that  
he forgets the Prejudice this War is to the  
Protestant Religion, and the Advantages its  
Enemies promise themselves by it. The 5th.  
of August, N. S. de Ruyter sail'd to the Thames  
Mouth with the Dutch Fleet, and stay'd there  
till he was inform'd the English was coming  
forth to meet him. The Dutch had Six thou-  
sand Men aboard to make a Descent, and the  
French King offer'd to send Two thousand  
more from Calais, whom de Ruyter wou'd

not

not accept, excusing it, by pretending he did not want 'em. The Chevalier *de Lorrain*, the Marquis *de Coaslin*, and other Persons of Quality of *France* were Volunteers with *de Ruyter*; and the 4th. of *August* the English Fleet under the Duke of *Albemarle*, attack'd the Dutch. The Admirals *Evertsen* and *Tierk Hiddes*, of the Squadrons of *Zeland* and *Friezeland*, were kill'd in the beginning of the Battel of the *Gunfleet*, and their Squadrons retreated soon after. *Trump* was engag'd with Sir *Jeremy Smith* and the Blue Squadron, so the main Force of the English was turn'd against *de Ruyter*, who defended himself with incredible Bravery; he burnt a Fire-ship, disabled the *Royal-Charles*, and fought till he was himself almost in the same Condition, he then made a good Retreat after the other Ships, and was purfu'd by the English to the Coasts of *Holland*. The Admiral in his Letter to the States of the 5th. of *August*, 1666. accuses Admiral *Trump*, and Admiral *Trump* in another of the 13th. throws the Reflexion on Admiral *de Ruyter*, desiring he might have leave to resign his Commission, since he could not serve under him with any hopes of being useful to the *States*. Their High and Mightinesses were troubled at the Differences between these two Admirals; however, they would not part with their Lieutenant-Admiral-General, but took *Trump's* Commission, and commanded him not to leave

leave the *Hague* without permission. The States order'd their Thanks to *de Ruyter*, for his Service in saving his Fleet, after he had been deserted by the *Zeland* and *Friezland* Squadrons, commending highly his Conduct in the whole Action; and the French King, who had presented him with his Picture, a Gold Chain, and the Order of St. *Michael*, wrote thus of him to the State,

' The Courage and Conduct of the Sieur *de Ruyter*, are what exceed human Strength,  
' and I esteem his Retreat more than if he  
' had gain'd a Battel, having with eight  
' Ships resisted Twenty two of the greatest  
' of the *English* Fleet. The *English* afterwards destroy'd several Merchant Ships in the *Vly*; then Sir *Robert Holms* made a Descent on *Brandaris* in the Isle of *Schelling*, and burnt Three hundred Houses, inhabited by Fisher-men, and other defenceless People. This Action, as we can by no means approve, so we shall not say more of it, and wish that Gentleman had distinguish'd himself better in other Actions, tho' he had not been so forward in this; for the Name of an Incendiary will never be Honourable in any Government that is not guided by Popish Counsels. *Holms* wou'd feign have burnt two other Towns, but he fear'd the Wind might change and have hinder'd his Retreat. The Losses of the *Dutch* at the *Vly*, and the Island of *Schelling*, amounted to twelve Millions of *French* Crowns.

Crowns. The beginning of September, Monsieur *de Estrees* Ambassador at the *Hague* from the *French* King, inform'd the *States*, that his Master had order'd the Duke of *Beaufort*, with his Fleet, to joyn Admiral *de Ruyter*, and to attack the Enemy together. This junction never took effect. The 5th. of September the *Dutch* Fleet sail'd and dropt Anchor off *Ostend*, and the 7th. the Admiral weigh'd Anchor, and sail'd Westward; the 10th. the *English* Fleet appear'd, and they cannonaded each other some time without any considerable Damage. The Wind was East-North-East, the Weather very boistrous, which hinder'd a set Battel, as also Admiral *de Ruyter's* joyning the Duke of *Beaufort* with the *French* Fleet. The *Dutch* advanc'd by little and little, till the 29th. N. S. the Admiral was then taken ill of a Feaver to the great Grief of the Deputy *de Wit* (with whom he always liv'd in perfect Friendship) and of the whole Fleet. The 2d. of October a Council was he'd, his Physician and Chirurgeon consulted, who advising that he shou'd be sent into *Holland* for his recovery, he was accordingly carry'd to *Rotterdam*. The Weather continuing still bad, and worse coming on, their High and Mightinesses order'd the Sieur *de Wit* to bring the Fleet home, giving Advice of their Resolutions to the *French* King, and the Reason why they did not let their Ships stay out longer at Sea. The *Most Christian*

Christian King approv'd of their Proceedings in a Letter, wherein he writes thus, ' Of all your Reasons that most sensibly touches us, which relates to the Sickness of your Admiral. We hope God in his Goodness, will not deprive our Cause of a Chief so Brave, and of so consummate Experience. Things seem'd on all sides dispos'd to a Peace, *Breda* was the place of Treaty, and the Plenipotentiaries of the several Powers and Princes concern'd in it were gone thither, where we shall leave 'em awhile to return to the Preparations of War which were carry'd on in *Holland* as vigorously, as they were backward or negligent in *England*. The Navy being ready, and the Sieur *de Wit* again chosen by the *States* to assist the Admiral with his Advice in the design'd Expedition; *de Ruyter* now restor'd in his Health, took leave of his Masters at the *Hague*, and the 1st. of June, N. S. arriv'd at the *Texel*, where at a Council of War 'twas resolv'd to improve the Opportunity the *English*, by their remissness, had put into their Hands, and to sail up the *Thames* to *Chatham* and *Rochester*, and burn the *English* Ships in their Harbours. Twenty light Frigats, under the command of the Baron *Van Ghent* was order'd for this purpose, with two or three Regiments of Foot aboard. The 19th. of June, they arriv'd at *Hol-haven* two Miles and half from the *Hop*, and made themselves Masters of the Fort of *Sheerness*,

*Sheerness*, which the *English* abandon'd, not being prepar'd for Defence. The next Day they sail'd farther up, and destroy'd the Ships they found unrigg'd in the River, and Captain *Brakil* made his way thro' some Ships that were sunk at the Mouth of the River of *Chatham*, with space only for one Ship to pass at a time, and that Passage defended by a Man of War of forty Guns, which *Brakil* board'd and took. Then a *Dutch* Fire-ship took the *St. Matthias*, and afterwards the Enemy did the same by the *Royal-Charles*, the *Charles the Fifth*, the *Castle of Hunningen*, the *London*, the *Royal-James* and the *Royal-Oak*; after this the *Dutch* return'd to their main Fleet at the *Thames* Mouth, and *de Ruyter* attack'd the Castle of *Harmwich*, but his Men were repuls'd by the *English* there; he sail'd along the Coasts of *England*, endeavouring to make some farther attempt, but he found the Shoar so well defended with Troops of Horse and Foot, the Forts, Castles and Ports so strong, that he saw 'twas impracticable; so he went into *Katwater*, near *Plimouth*, designing to intercept the *Barbadoes* Fleet; there Sir *John Trelawny* and Mr. *Spark* came off to him in a Boat, with a white Flag, and was honourably receiv'd by the Admiral, they acquainted him the Peace was sign'd; they presented the Admiral with fresh Provisions, and Healths were drunk to the King of *England*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, which Peace being

notifi'd to him by his Masters, the Sieur *de Wit*, with their Consent, return'd to *Holland*, and *de Ruyter*, after he had remain'd sometime longer at Sea, arriv'd safely in the *Texel* with his Fleet. He was again solemnly thank'd by their High and Mightinesses, and presented with a Gold Cup of very great Value, on which, the Summer's Expedition was Engrav'd: such was the end of the second *Dutch* War by the Peace concluded at *Breda* the 10th of July, 1667. which was not however, of very long continuance; for King *Charles II.* (say the *Dutch* Authors) prevail'd upon by *French* Gold and the Counsel of his Brother the Duke of *York*, and the persuasion of the Duchess of *Orleans* at *Dover*, enters into a League with the *French* King, who declar'd, he wou'd utterly destroy that Protestant Common-wealth, and make a Partition of it between himself and his *Britannick* Majesty. *Zealand* and the Coast-Towns, were to be annex'd to the Crown of *England*; *Mastricht* and the Cities on the *Maese* and the *Rhine*, to that of *France*: thus far we follow the *Dutch* accounts. Our own give other Reasons for the War, the forcing the *States* to fulfil their last Treaty, and to give Satisfaction to our Merchants, the Quarrel for the Flag, the whole *Dutch* Navy, commanded by the Gallant Admiral *Earon Van Gent*, not striking to an *English* Yacht, sent on purpose to take this maritime Homage;

Homage ; but above all, offensive Pictures of his Majesty and Government, sold in most Towns of *Holland* : Thus far we copy from the Declaration of War. Tho' the *Dutch* had been too hard for our Merchants in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and that their Infraction of Treaties as to Trade, and their Insolences in the *Indies* deserv'd Chastisement, yet we leave to the Reader to judge, whether their Fleet of Men of War not striking to small *English* Yacht, and whether their Droll Pieces, merry Pictures, and the comical Fancies of their Painters were Matters of such Importance, as to provoke us into a Confederacy with *Lewis XIV.* an undoubted formidable Enemy to our Nation and Religion, and to join his Fleet of Thirty six Men of War, with a Hundred stout *English* Ships, to ruin a People of the same Faith, and in most things, of the same Worship with our selves. Tis with regret and with shame, we must enter on this abominable Scene, where, when the *French* King had surpris'd three of their Provinces, and come within two Leagues of *Amsterdam*; the *English* are attempting with a vast Naval Power, in Conjunction with the *French*, to destroy their four remaining maritime Provinces, and without this Junction, the Great *Lewis* wou'd never have been able to have set out a Fleet capable to oppose one Squadron of *Dutch*: tho' since, he has made a good use of his Alliances with *England*,

and got a Navy together, which for two Summers, durst meet the united Strength of *England* and *Holland*, but their Presumption was in the third sufficiently chastis'd, and they are since oblig'd to confess what the *Dutch* said of the *English* on this occasion: 'Tis certain the *French* are nothing to be compar'd with the *English* in their Sea-Forces, in Skill and Courage in Naval Combats, these last, when Enemies, being most to be fear'd of any in Christendom. Yet in their attempts on the *Smyrna* Fleet, their Courage nor their Conduct were not very extraordinary, when six *Dutch* Men of War resisted twelve *English*, and safely carry'd off a Fleet of seventy Sail, losing but four of the whole. When the *Smyrna* Ships were to have been seiz'd, War had not been proclaim'd, and this noble Action was committed to the same worthy Commander Sir *Robert Holms*, who had in the last Rupture, attack'd the *Dutch* in *Guinea* and *New Holland* (as he pretended by the Duke of *Tork's* Commission) before any Declaration of War, for which he was sent to the *Town*, who burnt the Villages in the Isle of *Schelling*, and now was thought the fittest to undertake this Business. How he perform'd his Commission, let the World decide, when with twelve Ships he let a Fleet of seventy Sail escape him that had no more than six for their Convoy, weaken'd by a long Voyage.

Voyage. This Enterprise was acted near the Isle of Wight, the 13th. of May 1672. After seizing four of the Smyrna Fleet, both Nations prepare for War. The Dutch Navy consisting of a hundred Sail under Admiral *de Ruyter*, came to the Coasts of England; the Admiral order'd the Baron *Van Ghent* with some Frigats up the River *Thames*, and he drove nine Ships under the Cannon of Sheerness: Then the Dutch hearing the English with a hundred Men of War, and the French with forty eight were joyn'd, return'd to the Coasts of Zeland, whose Garrisons being march'd to their Army, the Towns were defenceless, and the States had given particular Directions to *de Ruyter* to defend that Province. The English follow'd them, commanded by the Duke of York as Admiral-General, by the Count *d'Estree* second Admiral, and the Earl of Sandwich the third. The 7th. of June N. S. 1672. the English attack'd the Dutch in Sole-Bay, the Count *d'Estree* engag'd Admiral *Bankert* with the Friezland and Zeland Squadrons; the Duke of York, Admiral *de Ruyter* in the main Body; and my Lord *Sandwich*, that of *Amsterdam*, commanded by *Van Gent*, who fought desperately to revenge himself on the English, for complaining against him that he wou'd not strike with his Fleet to a Yacht. *De Ruyter's* Ship, the *Seven Provinces*, had that wherein was the Duke of York, the St. Michael

by her side, his Royal Highness's lost her Mast, and he was oblig'd to go into another Man of War, the *London*, where his Flag and the Standard of *England* were hoisted; a *Dutch* Fire-ship endamag'd the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and burnt an *English* Man of War of seventy Guns; Admiral *Van Gent* was kill'd half an hour after the Fight began, and Captain *Panhuyzen* who commanded in his room lost his Leg. The *Westergo*, a Ship of the *Friezland* Squadron was blown up. The famous Captain *Brakel* was missing awhile, but at last, he arriv'd very much disabled in *Holland*. The Fight lasted all the Day with a great deal of Fury till Sun-set. Admiral *de Ruyter* declar'd he never saw a Battel so bloody and so long. The *French* began the Fight like Lions, they were soon weary and fled before Noon, leaving the *English* to their Enemy, who continu'd the Battel till Night. Captain *Brakel* with a Ship of seventy Guns, attack'd my Lord *Sandwich* in the *Royal-James* of a hundred, fought him five Hours, and brought his Lordship into such extremity, that after he had clear'd himself of three Fire-ships, the fourth, commanded by *John Daniel*, set him on Fire, my Lord striving to save himself in his Long-boat, was drown'd, as he endeavour'd to step into it; his Son had the same ill Fate, his Men were blown up, and his Lieutenant taken by the *Dutch*. The Admiral

niral *de Ruyter* consum'd in his Ship, twenty six thousand Pound weight of Powder ; and the *Westergo*, of fourteen thousand Pound, which was her Complement, had spent ten thousand before she was unfortunately blown up. Admiral *Bankert* set Fire to a French Man of War of eighty four Guns. The Sieur *de Wit*, Brother to the Pensionary, was aboard the Fleet to assist the Admirals : *De Wit* richly drest, sat in the *Seven Provinces* in an Elbow-Chair, giving Directions, twelve Halberdiers, (whereof three were kill'd and two wounded ) about him. The *Dutch* in this Battel had the *Joshua of Friezland* burnt by the *English* ; and the *English* and *French*, if we belief the Account given to the *States*, had fifteen burnt, sunk and taken. The Fight ending as Night came on, the *English*, say the *Dutch*, retir'd very much shatter'd to their Ports, and the *Dutch* to *Schonvelt*, where the *States* had posted them for the Defence of *Zeland*. During this Action at Sea, the *States* were brought to such extremity, that the Provinces resolv'd to make Peace on the *French King's Terms*. The Men of Learning at *Leyden*, saying, they must be at the Mercy of the Conqueror, which the Town of *Amsterdam* oppos'd vigorously ; and 'tis to the Resolution of that Noble City, that the *United Provinces* owe their present Liberty and Grandeur. For the Fleet being, as they thought, Victorious, the *Dutch* took Courage,

rage, and the Prince of *Orange* was restor'd to the just Pretensions of his Family, the Stadtholdership of the Common-wealth, made Hereditary-General, and Admiral of the *United Provinces*. The *French* Conqueror found a stop put to his Conquests, and the People grew sure of Victory from the Valour of their Governour-General the Prince, and the intrepid Bravery of their Admiral *de Ruyter*. The *English* as shatter'd as they were, quickly recover'd their Forces, and from flying, as was pretended, they were the Pursuers; their Fleet making to the Coasts of *Zeland*, hoping to intercept the *Dutch East-India* Ships as they came from *Norway*; but by the Providence of God, they arriv'd safely at *Delfziel*, passing by part of their Enemies, and were chas'd by the *Cambridge* and the *Bristol*, who gave Notice to the rest of the Fleet to come up, but the *Dutch* were too far before them, and in their View, got into the River of *Eems*. These Ships were reported to be worth two Millions Sterling. The *English* Fleet suffer'd very much by bad Weather on the Enemies Coast, and cou'd not make any Descent on it, thro' the great Care of the Admiral *de Ruyter*; so they return'd home and disarm'd. The *States* then order'd their Admiral to do the same, and when he came to the *Hague*, thank'd him in a Body for his good Services. The People every where crowded about him, and call'd him, *the Deliverer*

liverer of his Country, which Title was no more than his desert. The States resoving to pursue the War, their Subjects willingly paid their Taxes, and lent their Money in defence of their Liberties and of their Religion. In the Winter of the Year 1672, great Preparations were made, and Admiral *de Ruyter*, by the interposition of his Highness the Prince of Orange, was reconcil'd to Admiral *Tromp*, who succeeded the Baron *Van Gent* in his Command of the *Amsterdam* Squadron, which he had before commanded. The 9th. of May, N. S. 1673. *de Ruyter* sail'd from the *Maeze* with forty two Ships of War, to the Mouth of the *Thames*, in hopes by sinking some Vessels to block up the River, and hinder the *Canary*, *Bourdeaux* and *New-Castle* Fleet's getting in. They arriv'd two Days before, and had brought fifteen hundred Men for the Navy-Royal. *De Ruyter* hearing this, return'd to *Schonevelt*, where he was joyn'd by Admiral *Tromp* with the *Amsterdam* Squadron, all large Ships, and there waited till the *English* and *French* Fleets shou'd come to attack him, which they did the 7th. of June N. S. Prince *Rupert* commanded the Main Body, Sir *Edward Sprag* the Blue Squadron, and the Count *d' Estry* the White. The *French* were mingled with the *English*, to prevent their running away, as in the Battel of *Sole-Bay* the last Year. The *English* and *French* made about a hundred and ten Sail.

Dutch

Dutch near a hundred. When *de Ruyter* saw the Confederates appear, he held a Council of War, and encourag'd every one to do his Duty, and dismiss'd them to the Battel. *Tromp* and Sir *Edward Sprag* began the Fight, and the rest continu'd it on ev'ry side with great Fury till Darkness seperated them. The Dutch lost Vice-Admiral *Schram*, and Rear-Admiral *Vlug*, and several Captains dangerously wounded. The Day before, they took a Ketch laden with fine Cloaths and Delicacies for Monsieur *d' Estree*, the French Admiral. The *Fripone*, a French Man of War was sunk, as also the *Thunderer* of seventy Guns, and several Fire-ships, which they not knowing how to use, burnt to no purpose. The *Deventer*, a Dutch Ship of sixty Guns was disabled, and struck on the Sand in her return home, all the Men drown'd, except thirty. The Dutch affirm they lost only this Ship, and that not by the Enemy; whereas the Confederates lost twelve sunk or burnt. Both sides pretend to the Victory. *De Ruyter* in his Letter to the Prince of Orange of the 8th. of June 1672. says, ' We conclude the Victory is entirely on our side. And Prince *Rupert* writes to the Lord *Arlington*, ' I thought it best for us to cease the pursuit, and drop Anchor where I now am. On the English side were kill'd, Captain *Fowles*, Captain *Werden* and Captain *Finch*, Colonel *Hamilton* had his Leg shot off;

off; Captain *Legg*, Captain *Holms*, Captain *Wetwang* and Captain *Story*, signaliz'd themselves in this Battel. Whatever either Party pretends, for the *French* too put in their Claim to the Victory, 'tis certain they were all very well beaten, and glad to get off in the Night, the *English* to their Coasts, and the *Dutch* to *Schonevelt*; yet this we must own, that *de Ruyter's* Fleet and his Losses were least, which may give him the Honour of deserving, if not of gaining the Victory. We have not mention'd the *Dutch* Man of War taken by Captain *Legg*, because Captain *Baeker*, who lost it, retook it before *Legg* cou'd bring it into Port. At *Schonevelt*, the *States* Deputies came aboard *de Ruyter* to consult of what to do next, and 'twas there agreed to attack the Enemy. The Deputies having taken their leave of the Admiral, and all things prepar'd for an Expedition, the *Dutch* Fleet left *Schonevelt* and sail'd to the *English* Coasts, and the 14th. of *June* met their Fleet. *Tromp* and *Spragg* were again the first that engag'd; the Fight lasted six Hours without much Loss on either side, and both again pretended to the Victory. *De Ruyter* wrote to the *States* thus,

' The next Day we saw the Enemies were  
' gone, and doubt not but they made to the  
' *Thames*, we satisfy'd ourselves with pur-  
' suing them half way, and then return'd to  
' our former Station. And Prince *Rupert*  
thus

thus to my Lord *Arlington*, ‘ We pursu’d them  
‘ for four Hours, but seeing we cou’d not get  
‘ up with them, and fearing to run on the  
‘ Banks of Sand on the *Zeland Coast*, we  
‘ thought ’twas needless to pursue them far-  
‘ ther. The *French* again, with an unparal-  
lel’d Impudence (say the *Dutch*) claim’d  
the Glory of driving the Enemy on their  
Coast, and had it not been for the Wind and  
the Banks of Sand, they wou’d have de-  
stroy’d their whole Fleet. The truth is, both  
sides retreated, both lost neither Ship nor  
Officer of considerable Note, and such a  
Victory is not worth the acceptance of ei-  
ther the *English* or the *Dutch*, so the *French*  
may, if they please, have the Honour of it.  
The 22d. of *August N. S.* the *English* and  
*French* having repair’d their Fleets, return’d  
to the Coasts of *Zeland*, and the Prince of  
*Orange* having provided Land-Forces suffi-  
cient for the Defence of the Coast, *de Ruyter*  
left his Port of *Schoneveld* to meet his Ene-  
my. The Confederates retir’d as ’twas be-  
liev’d, to draw the *Dutch* farther from their  
Banks of Sand, but they sail’d Northward,  
with another Intention, to take the *East-*  
*India* Ships in their way homeward, one of  
which fell into their Hands, and was brought  
by Captain *Littleton* into *Harwich*, but the  
*Dutch* having no way to prevent the Loss of  
the rest, only to fight, *de Ruyter* was com-  
manded by the States, to give Battel. The  
Prince

Prince of Orange came aboard the *Seven Provinces* to view the Condition the Fleet was in, and confirming the Order of their High and Mightinesses, *de Ruyter* went out to meet the Enemy; by this time the *English* were returning South, and the *Dutch* were rang'd in three Squadrons to receive them, the 21st. of *August N.S.* 1673. Count *d' Estry* led the Confederates White Squadron, Prince *Rupert* the Main Line, and Sir *Edward Sprag* the Blue Squadron. The *French*, as was usual for them to do in this War, fled, and stay'd out of the reach of the Cannon; *Tromp* and *Sprag* fought with their wonted Bravery, *Tromp* forc'd Sir *Edward Sprag* twice out of his Ship, and *Sprag* compell'd Admiral *Tromp* once to change his. *Bankert* of the *Zeland* Squadron met with very little Resistance from *d' Estry*'s in the White, so he joyn'd with *de Ruyter*, who was engag'd with Prince *Rupert*, and very much distress'd him: Vice-Admiral *de Liefds* and *Sweers* were kill'd of the *Dutch*; and Sir *Edward Sprag* drown'd, a Cannon striking his Boat and sinking it, as he was going out of his second Ship into the third. *De Ruyter* writes, 'The Fight lasted 'till Night, and then the Enemy made a way to their Coasts, leaving us, God be thank'd, Masters of the Place of *Battel*. The *English* own there were no more than two Ships of the whole Blue Squadron fit for

for Service ; but say, that they lost never a Ship out-right, and that the *Dutch* had one of sixty and one of seventy Guns sunk, and that after the two Fleets had fought a whole Day, they parted with Consent ; the *English* first making off as being most shatter'd, and the *Dutch* retreating at the same time to *Schonevelt*. The great Difficulty in reconciling the *Dutch* and *English* Accounts of the several Battels, has been the occasion of our omitting to relate many Particulars contradicted by one side or the other. Three Nations *English*, *French* and *Dutch* always claiming the Victory, which seem disputable between the *Dutch* and the *English*, but the *French* are not worth naming, as concern'd in this War, so little did they do in it from the beginning to the end. The main Design of *de Ruyter*, was to defend his Coast, expos'd by drawing out the Garrisons and Militia, to oppose the *French* at Land. The *English* had shipp'd six thousand Men, commanded by Mareschal *de Schonberg* for a Descent in this last Fleet. This and all former Attempts, Admiral *de Ruyter* carefully prevented : which will rather incline us to think he had the best of the last Engagements with the Confederates, having as much the better of them as he desir'd to have, the driving them from the Coasts he was set to guard. How much are the *United Provinces* oblig'd to him for hindering the Designs of their

their Enemies, of which, had one taken effect, their Liberty and their Religion had been lost for ever! How much are, even the People of *England* indebted to the Memory of this great Man, for that Bulwark of their Religion and Liberties, which they now find the necessity of in their War with the *French* King! How much does all *Europe* owe to the Courage and Conduct of this Protestant Admiral, who in preserving his own Country, has maintain'd a Pow'r which next to the Arms of our glorious Queen *Anne*, and the Forces of the Empire, is the most redoubted Obstacle of the Oppression of the *French* King, which in Conjunction with the Confederates Powers, is now in a fair way to humble that Invader of the Rights of Nations, that Ravisher of Crowns and Provinces, yet by his Infidelity more than his Arms, tho' numerous and fortunate! The *English* were loth enough to engage in this War, and the King seeing what little notice the *French* King took of him in his management of it, inclin'd to Peace, which was concluded in *December 1673*. The *French* durst no more appear on the Ocean, and *de Ruyter* in *May 1674*, set Sail with a good Fleet, having a considerable Body of Land-Forces aboard, under Count *Horn*, to make a Descent and insult their Coasts, and he kept the Militia continually in Arms. The 7th. of *July*, according to the Command of his Masters,

Masters, he left the Fleet with Admiral *Tromp* at *Torbay*, and with twenty Ships, having two thousand Men aboard, he sail'd to the *West-Indies*; *Engel de Ruyter* his Son was his Rear-Admiral in this Expedition, of which, the *French* had advice given, and were so well prepar'd for Defence, that it came to nothing. The Fleet having suffer'd much by Hurricanes among the Isles, the Admiral return'd to *Holland*, without effecting any thing worth the mentioning, after the great Actions we have related. We must now follow him to *Sicily*, in his last Enterprize, the *French* King assisting the Rebels of that Island against their Sovereign the King of *Spain*; the *States* order'd *de Ruyter* to assist their Ally, and repulse the *French* Ships from *Sicily*, which the *Spaniards* were not strong enough to do of themselves. Great was the Sorrow of his Lady and all his Friends at this their parting, which was a sad Presage, that 'twould be the last. The 26th. of September 1675, N.S. he arriv'd at *Cadiz*, and was splendidly receiv'd by the Governour; thence he went to *Barcelona* to receive *Don John* aboard, and transport his Highness to *Sicily*, but that Prince not coming, he sail'd to the Rendezvous at *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, and thence to *Palermo* and *Melezzo* in *Sicily*, where he was entertain'd with extraordinary Magnificence, he entreated the Vice-Roy to furnish him with what Galleys and Men of War he cou'd

cou'd, that he might make head against the *French* in case they shou'd attack him with any considerable Force. The Vice-Roy promis'd to do it, and desit'd he wou'd Cruise between the Cape of *Molina*, and that of *Anna*, to hinder Succours entring the Port of *Messina*, his Excellency wrote to the Prince of *Montesarchio* to hasten with his Ships from *Palermo*. A Man of War and nine Galleons of *Naples* were already joyn'd the Admiral, who sail'd to the Streight of *Messina*; being arriv'd at the *Fare*, he receiv'd Advice from the Vice-Roy, that the *French* were seen off *Lipari*, and the next day he met the Enemy. They had with them thirty Sail of Ships, great and small, near *Stromboli*, and came on in good order, one of their Fire-ships im- mediately boarded the Admiral, and was burnt without taking the effect intended: Another Fire-ship lost her Masts, and came by the same fate as the first. The Sieur *Verschoot* and the Admiral fought with the *French* till five in the Afternoon, and the Fight begun early in the Morning; some time before Sun-set, one of the tallest of the *French* Fleet went to the bottom, three o- thers were sunk and burnt, and the rest with difficulty got into *Messina*, all very much disabled. The Galiot and the nine Galleys of *Naples* were forc'd from the Dutch Ships by a Tempest that rose in their Passage from *Melazzo* to the *Fare*, and they did not come

up with them till after the Battel. Rear-Admiral *Verschoot* was kill'd in the Fight, which was the 8th. of June N. S. 1676, and the next day the Prince *de Montesarchio* with nine Ships joyn'd the *Dutch*, who return'd to *Melazzo*; thence the Admiral past over to *Naples*, and thence to *Leghorn*. The time appointed for his staying in the *Mediterranean* being expir'd, he expected Orders to stay longer at one of those two places; if he did not find any, he resolv'd to sail from *Leghorn*, to Convoy home a great Fleet of Merchant Ships which were in that Port. He receiv'd the Orders he expected, by a Ship from *Corsica*, so he return'd to *Naples*, where the first thing he did, was to release twenty six *Hungarian* Ministers, whom the Emperor had sent thither to the Galleys, for not turning *Roman-Catholicks*. He made such pressing Instances to the Vice-Roy, that he cou'd not deny him. Those unhappy Preachers gave him a thousand Blessings, and being supply'd by him with Money, they went to seek their Wives and Children dispers'd up and down *Germany*. The Fleet was now enreas'd by some Men of War and Galleys from *Palermo*, and the Admiral went to cruise about the *Fare of Messina*, to draw the Enemy to a Combat; but seeing they avoided it, he attack'd the Fort of *Augusta*, and master'd it, after he had burnt two Fire-ships, several Tartans and Barks belonging to the Enemy;

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Enemy ; whose Fleet being refitted and provided with all things necessary, having receiv'd a reinforcement, so that they were now thirty seven Men of War, and seven Fire-ships, came to give the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* Battel near *Augusta*. The Admiral led the Van-guard with his Squadron, the Spanish Ships under the Prince of *Montesarchio* made the main Body, and Vice-Admiral *de Haen* commanded the Rear ; the Fight began at four in the Afternoon, the 21<sup>st</sup>. of April 1676, and half an hour after, the Admiral receiv'd his Death's Wound, his right Leg and his left Leg were both broken, and part shot off by a Cannon-Ball ; his first Captain *Gallenburg* commanded his Ship so well, that he wrote to the *States*, there was no want of him, he himself continually crying to his Men, *Courage, my Lads, 'tis thus you must do, if you wou'd get the Victory.* And they to revenge his Wounds, fought with such Fury, that the *French* were forc'd to retire. The *Dutch* pursu'd them from seven till eight, and so far, that they cou'd no longer keep sight of them. The Admiral continu'd seven Days in violent Pain, yet that did not hinder his giving continual Orders about repairing the Ships, and taking care of the poor wounded Sea-men : His Pain threw him into a Feaver, and then he would not think of any thing but his Soul's concerns, reciting in his intervals of Torment some

Verses out of the Psalms of *David*, and thus after an Agony of twenty four Hours, he gave up his Soul into the Hands of his Creator, between nine and ten in the Morning, the 29th. of *April* 1676. in the seventieth Year of his Age, having been in fifty Battels and never wounded before. His Body was embalm'd, and his Bowels buri'd out of the City of *Syracuse* in an unconsecrated Place, the Papists excusing themselves for not burying it otherwise; the Corps was brought back to *Holland*, and interr'd at *Amsterdam* with great Pomp and Solemnity, by express Order of the *States*, who were at the expence of a stately Monument over him. He was without contradiction the best Admiral of his time, an extream Lover of Discipline, very Pious, he abhorr'd Drunkenness and all sort of Debauchery; he was in his Person, fat, corpulent and of a fresh Complexion, constant and modest as to his Temper, courteous and affable to all, affectionate and tender to his Wife and Children, courageous to an excess, of a great presence of Mind, excellent for ranging a Fleet in Battalia, and for managing a Battel. In his second against the *English* and *French*, Monsieur *d'Estrée* wrote of him to the *French King*, *That had he perform'd his Duty so well, he shou'd have been content to die after the Combat*. He marry'd three Wives, by whom he had nine Children, *Cornelia* his Daughter by his second Wife, marry'd the Sieur

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Sieur *John de Wit*; he had *Alida*, by the same, and *Engel de Ruyter Knight*, Rear-Admiral in the Service of the State; *Margaret*, by his third Wife, marry'd Monsieur *Sommers Minister at Amsterdam*, and the rest dy'd in their Infancy.

Thus liv'd and dy'd the great Admiral *de Ruyter*, whose Death was lamented by the King of *Spain*, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Prince of *Orange*, and his Masters the *States-General*, who condol'd with his Relations in Letters full of Expressions of unusual Grief and Tendernes.

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THE  
L I F E  
O F T H E  
*Viscount de Turenne.*

THE Duke of *Bouillon* was a Prince Wise, Virtuous and Valiant ; and the support of the Protestant Interest in *France*. Happy had it been for his Son the Viscount *de Turenne*, if he had not sacrific'd his Religion to the favour of a Monarch unworthy such a Servant. Whose Cause, as it was always bad, in consequence of his Principles of Ambition, Revenge and Cruelty ; so we cannot but be griev'd that 'twas the ill Fortune of this Warrior to be the Instrument of his Tyranny and Oppression. But the History of his Life is so full of Events, that we have not room farther to reflect on the Justice of his Actions. We must therefore come to the Number

Number and Greatness of them; in all which he behav'd himself so bravely, and so wisely, that he disputed with the Prince of Conde for the Character of the greatest General of France. *Henry de la Tour Viscount de Turenne*, was born at Sedan the 11th. of September 1611. His Mother was *Elizabeth of Nassau*, Daughter to *William the Great, Prince of Orange*, Founder of the Commonwealth of Holland. The night before she was Deliver'd, she dreamt she was brought to Bed of a Cannon, which went off in the Delivery, and the Bullet made a great Breach in the Wall of the Church of Sedan. This Dream was Interpreted by a sage Person at Franckfort, to foretel that the Infant she was deliver'd of should make a noise in the World, and shou'd withal be the ruin of his Religion. How this was fulfill'd in his Apostacy, is left to the Reader to judge. He was in his Childhood of a very delicate Constitution, but had an obstruction in his Speech, which was never perfectly cur'd. However, though he was not fluent in his Language, what he said was good: and he wrote better than most of those, who, in imitation of *Voiture*, pretended to Perfection in writing Letters; and some have gone so far as to affirm *Voiture* himself must yield to him. He hated his Master and his Studies, and was so backward in his Learning, his Father us'd to say in Raillery, 'twas pity

he was not a Papist, that he might make a Monk of him, a sort of Men who have not been the most eminent for Learning. The Viscount did not always come off so well as to be rally'd; for being order'd by his Father to be Chastiz'd he drew on his Master, and wou'd have stab'd him when he offer'd it. Yet, afterwards, when he saw an Adder about to Bite the same Master in his Sleep, he kill'd the Serpent and sav'd him. He was in his Person rather Ugly than Handsome, yet did every thing with so much address, that he never fail'd to Please and to Charm. In Martial Exercises he was as forward, as backward in Letters. He at fourteen years of Age back'd a Horse of the Count *de Roussi*, who marri'd his Sister, which the Grooms were afraid to mount. The Count was enrag'd with 'em for setting the young Prince on it, who told him, the Beast was very manageable, and he did not see the danger he talk'd of in riding it. The Count finding he was fond of the Horse, presented it to him, and he who was Generous to Profusion, wou'd Pay for it; but his Purse not being so good as his Will, he sent a Servant with a Diamond Ring to sell at *Paris* for the 100 Pistoles the Horse was worth: the Servant runs away with his Ring, and the Viscount wou'd not be content till his Mother paid for't. He was so pleas'd with the Story of *Alexander the Great*,

Great, that he Challeng'd a Man for asserting that *Quintus Curtius* was a Romance. His Charity was greater than his Ability, an instance is in a Gentleman of his Neighbourhood, a Person of Quality, but decay'd, whom he us'd to supply so gallantly, the Gentleman did not presently perceive his meaning. He wou'd give a very fine Horse, and Money in exchange for an ordinary one, and many such ways contriv'd to save the Gentlemans Confusion. His Father dy'd just before the War broke out with the Hugonots, and these desir'd the young Duke of *Bouillon* to Head them. The Princess his Mother, who knew the French King wou'd be sure to seize *Sedan* if he did, sent him to her Brother Count *Maurice*, to be out of the way, and his younger Brother the Viscount *de Turenne*, follow'd him in February 1627. He cou'd not Profit a great deal by the Instructions of Count *Maurice* his Uncle, for he dy'd presently after his arrival. *Henry Frederic* his Brother, and the Viscount *de Turenne*'s God Father, whose name he also bore, succeeded the Count in his Charges of General by Sea and Land of the Forces of the *United Provinces*. *Turenne* carri'd a Musket in Count *Maurice*'s Guards, and was by his Successor made Captain of a Company. This did not satisfie him, because he had no opportunity to shew himself. He wou'd fain have gone to the Siege

of

of *Rochelle*, then much talk'd of, if his Religion had not been attackt in that City. He took readily all the Lessons of his Governor, that concern'd the War, and he need tell him but once to have him entirely Master of what he taught him. His Soldiers were so endear'd by his Carriage and Bounty, that every one thought himself happy that cou'd get into his Company. He was not willing his Governour shou'd make a Campaign with him, fearing his Men wou'd not then be so obedient as if he were absent, else he very much respected him, for he was a Man of Merit, and of Experience in War, which he said were the only Persons who deserve'd respect.

The first time he shew'd himself, was at the Siege of *Grol* in the Province of *Gueldre*. At the Siege of *Bois le Duc*, the Prince of *Orange*, who saw how careless he was of his Person, commanded him to be always near him, and this Care to keep him from Danger, brought him into it. A Detachment from *Breda* attempting to throw themselves into the Town, the Prince ran to oppose them, and *Turenne* follow'd him, who seeing his Brother among the thickest of the Enemy, rush'd forward to fight by his side, the Skirmish lasted long, but at last the *Spaniards* were repuls'd. The Duke of *Bouillon* was the first that return'd from the pursuit, the Prince his joy was abated to see  
him

him return alone, he order'd search immediately to be made for the Viscount, who was found among those that drove the Enemy to the last. His Governor was wounded in this Rencounter. The Town yielded to the Prince on honourable Conditions. And now *Turenne* thought he shou'd acquire more Honour if he serv'd in an Army that were not always on the Defensive. He did not approve of the Prince's Republican Spirit, and wonder'd how he who was himself above the Members which compos'd the State, cou'd submit to them; and the Siege of *Rochelle* being over, the Viscount believ'd he might now decently wait on the King, and offer his Service. The Duke of *Orleans* disgusted with Cardinal *Richelieu*, withdrew into *Lorrain*, and marry'd *Margaret* the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Sister, 1632. *Lewis XIII.* follow'd him, and the Duke *de Bouillon* sent his Brother to *Sedan* to assure the King of his Fidelity; his Majesty stopping there in his passage to *Lorrain*. The King receiv'd him graciously, and gave him a Regiment of Infantry. The Duke of *Lorrain* finding he had offended a Prince too strong for him, made his Peace on the best terms he cou'd, and advis'd the Duke of *Orleans* to retire to *Brussells*. The King, whether he mistrusted the Duke of *Bouillon*, or had heard Propositions were made him by others, commanded the Marechal *de la Force* to go to *Sedan*, and take

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~~his an~~ Oath of Fidelity ; but the Viscount *de Turenne* told him he wou'd be Hostage for his Brother ; that he shou'd wait on the King himself, to assure him of his Zeal for his Service, and doubted not to give such proofs of it as wou'd convince him of his Sincerity. The King seem'd pleas'd with his manner of Proceeding, and the Cardinal was very obliging to him, only warn'd him to take care who he enter'd into friendship with. He reply'd, there were some Persons he cou'd not help seeing, but he wou'd help espousing their Passions ; which answer surpriz'd his Eminence. *Turenne*, who lov'd a Court, was Charm'd with the Cardinal's Grandeur, and sublime Qualities, he was concern'd to see the Faction against him, and that the Duke of *Montmorency*, and other his Relations were in it. He first serv'd under Mareschal *de Estree*, at the Siege of *Treves* ; the King, in League with *Gustavus Adolphus*, being to take that Bishoprick into his Possession till a Peace. He was wounded at this Siege ; but here he behav'd himself so well that several Officers wrote to the Cardinal in his favour, In his absence the Duke of *Orleans* had made his way through *Burgundy* into *Languedoc*, and was met by *Montmorency* the Governor at the Head of the Nobility. Against these *Richelieu*, sent the Mareschal *de Schomberg*, who met the Revolters heated with debauches, and defeated them, and to his great

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great Sorrow took the Duke of *Montmorency* Prisoner. The whole Nation were griev'd for this illustrious Duke, and particularly Viscount *de Turenne*, still hoping the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, who had marry'd *Montmorency's* Sister, wou'd prevail with the King for his Life, which cou'd not be effected; *Richelieu* resolving to have him made an Example, so he dy'd on a Scaffold in his thirty seventh Year. The Cardinal after this thought to revenge himself on the Duke of *Lorrain* for receiving the Duke of *Orleans* again on the Defeat of *Montmorency*. The Mareschal *de la Force* was order'd to take *la Motthe* and the Castle of *Biche*, all the strong Places that the Duke had left. The Mareschal seeing the Viscount *Turenne* kept himself sober and undebauch'd in a vicious Age, had a great Esteem for him, and took him with him in that Enterprize, which infinitely pleas'd the Viscount, because 'twas look'd on as a bold one, those two Fortresses being thought impregnable. The Mareschal divided his Army into two Bodies, the one was to act against the Castle of *Biche*, and the other to invest *la Motthe*, the Siege of this last cou'd not be form'd for want of Necessaries till *Biche* was taken. *Turenne* was in the Detachment before *la Motthe*, the Governour whereof was a brave Man, and a hearty Lover of his Master. The Garrison consisted of chosen Men, and did not lose

lose a foot of Ground without making the Besiegers pay dearly for it. The Marquess of *Toneins* being commanded to attack a Bastion, did it very courageously but his Men were beaten, and he forc'd to retire, for which, the Mareschal *de la Force* was doubly concern'd, because he lost his aim, and his Son was disgrac'd : This made him resolve to send the Marquess again to the same attack ; if the Viscount *de Turenne* had not remonstrated, it cou'd not be done without Prejudice to his Honour, whose Post it was ; that he might not, perhaps, have better Fortune, yet that wou'd not injure his Reputation, since every one shou'd see he had done his Duty. The Mareschal Embrac'd him, and said, That tho' he intended to favour his Son, it shou'd not be with displeasing him, so he wish'd him Success and let him go. The Viscount was the first that mount'd the Bastion, and the *Lorrainers* being surpriz'd at the Fury of their Enemies, who wou'd not leave so brave a Gentleman by himself, fled from the Besiegers. The Viscount lodg'd himself on the Bastion, and maintain'd his Post, whatever the besieg'd cou'd do to regain it. This and the Gouvernour's Death, contributed much to the surrender of the Place. The Mareschal march'd from *la Motte* into *Germany*, to the assistance of Duke *Weimar*, who was beaten before *Ratisbon* by the King of *Hungary*. After his defeat

feat of the *Swedes*, the King besieg'd *Heidelberg*; the Gouvernour sent to the Mareschal *de la Force* for Succour, he past over a Bridge of Boats at *Manheim*, but the *Imperialists* had taken the Lower-Town, and the Castle continu'd to defend itself. The Besiegers were now themselves besieg'd by the *French*, and for want of Provisions, forc'd to retire, which they did in sight of the Mareschal, and all he cou'd do, was to cannonade them in their Retreat. The Viscount was pleas'd with the Campaign, and the Mareschal with the Viscount, he wrote in such Terms of him to the Cardinal, that had he not been jealous of his House, he wou'd sooner have advanc'd him. The Cardinal *de la Valette* substituted in the Place of the Mareschal *de la Force*, being desirous to distinguish himself in his first Campaign, besieg'd *Binghen*, in hopes to draw the *Imperialists* off from *Nancy*; that Place taken, he march'd directly to the Enemy, who had before rais'd the Siege, which made the Cardinal so presumptuous, that he wasted his time in the Neighbourhood of *Nancy*, while the *Imperialists* cut off his Provisions and reduc'd him to great Streights. They gave Notice to *Galas* to come with all speed, while he was in this Condition, and they themselves approach'd to a Bridge, *la Valette* had laid near the City; this was guarded by the Viscount *de Turenne*, who receiv'd 'em with such Courage, that after they

they had lost Three hundred Men, they sounded a Retreat. 'Twas very much wonder'd at, why the Cardinal stay'd where he did, and he too late saw his Error, so he retir'd along the River. *Galas* follow'd him, but he had broken down the Bridges in his way and left part of his Baggage; still pursu'd by *Galas*, till he retir'd to *Metz*. *Turenne* took pity on the poor Soldiers, that Want had so weaken'd they cou'd scarce march, and bought Bread for them at a Crown the Pound price; and meeting a Soldier leaning on a Tree, not being able to come up with the Baggage, nor to march farther, he made him mount his own Horse till he reach'd the Waggons. The Enemy follow'd, and overtook the Army, near *Waudrevanges* in *Lorrain*. *La Valette* now grown desperate, fac'd them, and engag'd the advanc'd Guard of the *Imperialists*, which gave time to the Foot to pass. The Viscount, whose Regiment was not afar off, came back with several Officers to support the Cavalry that suffer'd much in this Charge, and his Succour helpt considerably to save what was sav'd. The Army got to *Metz*, and on a review, 'twas found half diminish'd. Cardinal *Richeieu* enrag'd at *Galas's* entring, and ravaging *Burgundy*, sent such large Reinforcements to *la Valette*, that he was strong enough to oppose him; but *Galas* on the approach of his Army, retir'd into the *Franche Comté*.

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The Cardinal to reward *Turenne's* Services, got him a Gift of a thousand Pistoles, and a Commission of *Mareschal de Camp*. The Pistoles came very opportunely, for the Viscount had sold his Plate to supply the Necessities of his Soldiers. His first Exercise of this new Charge was at the Siege of *Saverne*; *La Valette* being now joyn'd with Duke *Weimar*, the *Swedes* besieg'd it on one side, and the *French* on the other. The Viscount *de Turenne*, who was in both the Attacks, attributed the length of this Siege to the inexperience of *la Valette*; for it went on faster at Duke *Weimar's* than at the Cardinals. *Turenne* distributed Money among the most experienc'd to encourage them, which he did most by his Example; he was wounded in the Arm at a Salley of the Enemy, yet that did not hinder him from staying in the Field till the besieg'd were repuls'd, which was wholly owing to his Valour. This Place being taken, *Richlieu* order'd *la Valette* to withdraw his Troops out of *Germany*. The Duke of *Orleans* retir'd to *Blois*, and the Count *de Soissons* to *Sedan*, which was not at all pleasing to the Viscount *de Turenne*, fearing least *Richlieu* might resent it on his Brother the Duke *de Bouillon*; his Eminence, however, dissembled for a time. *La Valette* march'd from *Savern* to *Flanders*, took *Cambray*; then invested *Landrecy*, the ill Weather retarded the Siege, the Rains filling up the Trenches;

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this dishearten'd the Soldiers, whom *Turenne* by his Words and his Actions, kept to their Posts. *Landrecy* being also taken, the Army divided into several Bodies : the Duke of *Candal*, whose *Mareschal de Camp* was Viscount *de Turenne*, commanded one, with which he seiz'd *Maubeuge* and *Beaumont*; the others were busy'd in raising Contributions. *Turenne* attack'd the Castle of *Sobre*, defended by Peasants, who did not Fight regularly, but like Men desperate ; their Goods were secur'd in the Castle, and their Families fled hither for safety ; they made an incredible resistance till they were beaten back and weaken'd by Sallies. The *French* in the last enter'd with them into the Castle, they still combated furiously, and wou'd have made the *French* pay for their Prize, had not *Turenne* threaten'd to hang them up all, if they did not yield. This cool'd their Heat, and they surrender'd at Discretion ; the Plunder, which was very rich, fell to the Soldiers, the Viscount refusing to meddle with any of it. One of them show'd him a very beautiful Woman, whom he restor'd to her Husband, young as he was, without injuring him, imitating *Scipio Africanus* when he took *New-Carthage* in *Spain*, who dealt so honourably by the Wife of *Lucius Prince of the Celtiberians*. In both, he shew'd his Generosity, protecting the Miserable, and scorning to touch the Spoil, tho' his Brother did not allow

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allow him more than 20000 *Franks* yearly, and he was often in want of Money by his Liberality to the Soldiers; in all other Expences he was thrifty; he wou'd not accept of Money offer'd him by a Friend, because he said he might die, and then knew not how he wou'd be paid. He abhor'd running in Tradesmen's Debts, and had rather appear with a thin Equipage than a borrow'd one. His Character of Sincerity and Honour, made his Friendship courted by Persons of the highest Rank; Cardinal Richlieu demanded it by the Marechal *de Meilleraye*, the Cardinal's Nephew. The young Prince was surpriz'd, knowing a Prince of the Blood cou'd expect no more, he answer'd the Marechal to his desire, and he writ to the Cardinal, he wou'd be Surety for his Performance of what he promis'd. The Duke of Orleans courted him afterwards, to whose Agents he only reply'd, He knew the Respect he ow'd the Brother of the King too well, to fail in his Duty. These Propositions gave the Viscount reason to fear the Troubles that were coming on might involve his Family. From the Enterprise of the Castle of *Sobre*, the Army march'd to the Siege of *La-Chapelle*, which they wou'd have rais'd, had not the Viscount prevail'd on *la Valette* to continue it. *Piccolomini* march'd to its relief, but the Siege was over before he cou'd come up. The two Armies were

loath to engage, and *Picolomini* drew off, which gave the *French* an opportunity to do the same, and go into Winter-Quarters. The next Campaign, *La Valette* was order'd to assist the Dutchesse of *Savoy* against the *Spaniards*, who attack'd her in the Minority of the Duke her Son. *Turenne* went to *Italy* with the Cardinal *la Valette*. The Viscount was unwilling to be so far from Court, and wou'd have pray'd to be excus'd, if the Cardinal had not oblig'd him so many ways he cou'd not tell how to leave him, which he knew wou'd extreamly offend him. On his arrival in *Italy* he found his Eminence very much embarrass'd with Factions at *Turin*, and the *Spaniards* in the Field. *Cazal* too, was like to have been betray'd to the *Spaniards*, and the *French* Garrison in it to be deliver'd up to their Enemies. *Turenne* found a Billet on his Plate, as he was going to Dinner, which discover'd the whole Design, he carry'd it to the Cardinal *de Valette*, who sent for the Governour, and he not suspecting any thing, came, was arrested, closely confin'd, try'd and beheaded : Letters being intercepted which prov'd the Treason on him. The *Spaniards* having laid Siege to *Verceil*, *la Valette* drew twelve thousand Men out of the Garrisons of *Savoy*, and march'd to relieve the Place. The *Spaniards* came forth of their Lines and fell on the *French* with their Cavalry ; they were bravely

bravely receiv'd and forc'd to retreat. *Turenne* in this Action charg'd three times with one Squadron of Horse; the *Germans* and *Spaniards* continuing to skirmish with the *French* and *Savoyards*, in hopes to weaken them; *La Valette* resolv'd to attack them, *Turenne* was to fall on the *Germans*, and *La Valette* on the *Spaniards*, who made so stout a Resistance, that his Eminence was oblig'd to retire; the rest on the other side was Victorious over the *Germans*, and thro' their Quarters sent all manner of Provisions into the Town. This did not yet discourage the Marques's of *Leganez*, he continu'd the Siege and wou'd not be drawn to a Combat, to which *la Valette* cou'd not force him. He then made a feign'd March, as if he intended to enter the *Milaneze*, but the *Spaniards* who had learnt of the *French* to set Priests on Horse-back, oppos'd the Cardinal *Trivulce* to *la Valette*, and this General was so often disappointed in his Designs, that he despair'd of ever succeeding. *Trivulce* having cut off his Convoys, he retreated to his old Camp, and march'd in Battalia, making a shew to attack *Leganez* in his Lines, and compel him to raise the Siege, yet having a Detachment of two thousand Men defeated, he sounded a Retreat, and sent word to the Governour he might capitulate as soon as he pleas'd. His Soldiers were so fatigu'd, and his Camp so ill supply'd with Necessaries,

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that he was generally hated. The Dutches of *Mantua* enrag'd at the Death of the Governor of *Cazal* her Subject, declar'd openly against *France*, and implor'd Protection of the *Venetians*. Thus were the *French* Affairs in *Italy* declining on all sides, *Turenne* saw the false Steps *la Valette* made, and improv'd by his Indiscretion. The Dutches of *Savoy* complain'd to the Viscount of the backwardness of *Richlieu* to assist her Son, the King's Nephew, but he was too much employ'd to repair his Losses at *Thionville*, where the Marquess of *Feuquieres* had been routed and taken, to think of the Affairs of *Italy*. The *Spaniards* ravag'd *Piedmont*, Prince *Thomas* and the disaffected *Savoyards* had taken most of the strong Places of *Savoy*, and were marching towards *Turin*. The Dutches fell at Cardinal *la Valette*'s Feet, and pray'd him to help her, but he was in as much need of Comfort as the Princess herself: The Viscount heartily pity'd her, for he was by Nature pitiful, but besides that, he was not Master of the Army; he had secret Orders to hazard nothing, and only to watch *Turin* and *Cazal*. Prince *Thomas* seeing he cou'd do nothing against *Turin*, joyn'd the *Spaniards*, and turn'd his March to *Montferrat*, intending to attack *Cazal*. *La Valette* now awaken'd, sent *Turenne* to oppose his Passage, the Cardinal had writ so favourably of him to Court, that

that he now receiv'd a Commission to be Lieutenant-General. *Richlieu* sent him a Reinforcement of seven thousand Men, with which he wou'd have hinder'd the Enemy from approaching *Cazal*, had not *la Valette* employ'd him in the re-taking of a few Towns of less Consequence in *Savoy*. Cardinal *Richlieu* wou'd have the Dutches put the Towns into the Hands of the *French*, the better to secure them against her Enemies, who were assisted by the Faction of Prince *Thomas*; her Ministers were against the Cardinal's Proposals, however, the Dutches consented, which enrag'd the Inhabitants of *Turin* so much, that they invited Prince *Thomas* to the City, and deliver'd it into his Hands. The Dutches being in her Shift forc'd to fly to the Citadel, and her Ladies after her; This News mov'd the King her Brother, *Lewis XIII.* and he resolv'd to go himself and relieve her; in the mean time the *Portuguese* revolted, and the *French* King ready always to take Advantage of the Troubles in his Neighbouring Kingdoms, propos'd to send them Assistance against the King of *Spain*; he cou'd not presently think of a Person fit for that Command, and therein particularly, consulted the Viscount *de Turenne*; the *Spaniards* were busy'd so much with them, and the *Catalans* who had also revolted, that the Dutches of *Savoy* began to hope for a Revolution in her Affairs for

for the better. The King was come to *Grenoble*, and *la Valette* convey'd that Princess thither to her Brother, by whose absence and frequent Sicknes, the weight of the War in *Italy* fell on *Turenne*, whom *Richelieu* observ'd by his Spies very narrowly, being Jealous that he wou'd favour his Brother's Enterprize in the Retreat of *Soissons*, who liv'd at *Sedan*, and increas'd his Cabal thro' the whole Kingdom; his Spies cou'd find nothing blameable in Monsieur *de Turenne*, and the King on *Valette's* Death, wou'd have given him the Command of his Army; but the Cardinal not yet quite cur'd of his Jealousy, got it for the Count *d'Harcourt*, who had marry'd a Relation of his. The Viscount *de Turenne* was well pleas'd with the change of *la Valette* for *Harcourt*, this Prince having made himself famous by many Illustrious Actions. *Turenne* not to lose time, held a Council of War, and put himself at the Head of the Army, marching towards *Cazal*, with a Resolution to attack the Enemy in their Quarters at the Blockade of that place. The Count *de Harcourt* arriv'd in the Camp just as this Design was putting in execution, This Prince was receiv'd and obey'd by all with Joy, and particularly by the Viscount *de Turenne*; The Count *de Harcourt* return'd his Complements so obligingly, that they from that time contracted a Friendship. Prince *Thomas*, no sooner heard of

of the Count's arrival and his march, than he resolv'd to meet him, which he did, as the two Armies were about to pass the River —, the *Spaniards* were behind the *French*, and the *Savoyards* on the other side of the River; the Prince of *Harcourt* order'd *Turenne* with the Rear-Guard to oppose the *Spaniards*, and march'd himself over the Bridge against Prince *Thomas*, whom after a brave Resistance he defeated. The Viscount *de Turenne* was in the mean while vigorously attack'd by the *Spaniards*, he posted himself to defend the Passage of the Bridge, and all his Equipage not being come up, part was plunder'd by the Enemy; the *Spaniards* admir'd the Valour of *Turenne* in this Action, who with a few Troops fought till Night with a great Number of theirs, and then pass'd the River; the Enemy follow'd him, tho' with no great Courage, being cool'd with the Reception they met, and the Defeat of Prince *Thomas*, who, however, joyn'd the *Spaniards* and then kept the Field, while the Count *de Harcourt* was oblig'd to draw off to a more advantageous Post. This mortify'd him and *Turenne* in the midst of their Victory, for now the *Spaniards* and the revolted *Savoyards* besieg'd *Cazal* in form. *Harcourt* turn'd again on the Besiegers, and attack'd them in their Lines, the *Spaniards* soon gave Ground, the *Germans* defended themselves longer, these Viscount *de Turenne* forc'd also from their Posts with his Cavalry,

and

and pursu'd them till he was stop'd by Night. *Harcourt* supply'd the Town with all sorts of Provision, and then march'd to *Turin*. The Enemy with this Rout and their Divisions, were incapable to renew the Siege. The Count *de Harcourt* had but ten thousand Men with him, and Prince *Thomas* was in *Turin*, the Capital of *Savoy*, with a numerous Garrison, *Leganez* fortify'd his Army with the Garrisons of *Milan*, and having eighteen thousand Men, did not doubt but to force *Harcourt* to raise the Siege of *Turin*. The Count held a Council of War, and gave his Reasons for continuing their Attacks; he said *Leganez* had twice been beaten, that the Cittadel cou'd not hold out, unless the Town was taken, and that with the Cittadel, all *Savoy* wou'd be lost. *Turenne* was of Opinion to go on with the Siege, and expect the Enemy where they were; the Marquis *de Leganez* found they had advanc'd their Works considerably, and streighten'd the City, when he approach'd, so he resolv'd to pass the *Po* at *Montcalier*, and fell on the French in their Trenches. *Turenne* was order'd to oppose *Leganez*, while the Count *de Harcourt* guarded the Lines; the Viscount arriv'd at *Montcalier* before *Leganez*, burnt the Bridge and entrench'd himself on the Banks of the River. *Leganez* thus prevent-ed, wou'd have return'd, if *Carlo della Garta*, an Officer of great Reputation in his Army had not with a Detachment seiz'd certain Islands,

Islands, and with a moveable Bridge, endeavour'd to get on the other side of the River. *De Turenne* march'd immediately against *Garta*, who drove on his Design with success, and the *French* being astonish'd, the Viscount thought to animate them by his Example; *Garta* gave over his Work and retir'd to the Islands where his Men were cover'd from the Fire of the *French*, that were expos'd from the Head to Foot.; this Skirmish lasted five Hours, *Leganez* came with his Army towards the Place where *Garta* was intrench'd, which did not yet discourage the Viscount *de Turenne*, but being dangerously wounded, his Men made such a weak Resistance, that *Garta* finish'd his Bridge. The Count *de Harcourt* was not so much griev'd at the Passage of the Enemy, as for the Danger of the Viscount, who was his greatest Support in the Siege of *Turin*, and having lost that, he began to despair of carrying it on. *Turenne* cou'd not be persuaded to keep his Bed, and the Marquess *de Leganez* falling on the *French* in their Trenches, he wou'd be in the Action, wounded as he was. The Spaniards under *Carlo della Garta* took the only Post, *Purpurata*, that the Besiegers lost, who every where else repulst the Enemy, and *Garta* having got into the Town, *Leganez* thought he had done enough, sounded a Retreat, and repast the *Po*. *Garta* did more hurt than good in the Town, Prince

Thomas

Thomas being forc'd to supply him and his Men with Provisions, which fell short there as much as in the Camp of the Besiegers. The Count de Harcourt sent out Turenne with a Detachment of chosen Troops, to bring in a great Convoy which the Governor of Pignerol had prepar'd for him. Leganez wou'd fain have cut off this Convoy, but not daring to go far from Turin, lest Prince Thomas shou'd surrender in his absence, he commanded one of his Principal Officers to seize the Paslages. Turenne, however, disappointed both the General and Officer by going another way about, and return'd to the Camp safe with his Convoy. He afterwards beat *Della Garta* in a vigorous Sally he made on the Besiegers, but his Wound that he slighted at first, now confin'd him to his Bed; and he was taken so ill with the distemper of the Camp, that his Life was in danger: yet, ill as he was, he wou'd share in the Glory of repelling the Spaniards for the last time, and forcing his Servants to Dress him, went to the Count de Harcourt. This Prince reprimanded him for the little care he took of his Health; yet neither this, nor the persuasion of his Friends avail'd with him, for he was positive to be in the Engagement, which turning to the advantage of the Besiegers, Prince Thomas influenc'd by the Intrigues of Mazarin, sent to him from Cardinal Richelieu, deliver'd up the City. The Duke d' Elbeuf, and the Marques de

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*de Bees*, during this Siege, were retir'd to the Count *Soissons* at *Sedan*, which occasion'd Richelieu to write to Prince *Harcourt* to observe *Turenne*, for he could not help mis-trusting his Inclinations for his Brothers Cause, though 'twas what the Viscount least thought of. *Soissons* having enter'd France with a Spanish Army, Richelieu wou'd fain have had the Count *d' Harcourt* sent to reduce him, but he was too far off, so that Commission was given to the Mareschal *de Chastillon*, who was beaten by the Count *de Soissons*, and this Prince Assassinated at the same time that he got the Victory. The news was kept from the Viscount *de Turenne* as long as possible, till the King began to declare publickly his Resentment against the Duke of *Bouillon*, and then the Count *de Harcourt* did not think it convenient to make it longer a Secret. He was infinitely griev'd, and angry with the Count for not letting him know of it before. He wrote to the King and Cardinal in his Brothers behalf to little effect, though they both believ'd him faithful to their Interests. The Mareschal *de Chastillon* was order'd to besiege *Sedan*, but being the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Friend, he made no great hast, and the Duke sending a submissive Letter to the Cardinal, he was for the present appeas'd. The Prince of *Harcourt* on these Junctions, and the Cardinal's Sicknes came to Court. The Army in Savoy

voy being in his absence commanded by the Viscount de Turenne, who Attack'd Ivree. The Enemy, to draw him off, besieg'd Chivas. Turenne push'd on his Works with incredible speed, that he might be Master of the Place the sooner, and thence hasten to the Relief of Chivas, not so much prest by the Enemy. Richelieu sent Harcourt into Savoy, as soon as he heard of these Enterprizes, and the Count immediately rais'd the Siege of Ivree to Succour Chivas. The Viscount and every body believ'd he did it out of Jealousie, and Turenne told the Count de Plessis his Opinion ; who, if he pleas'd, said he wou'd tell the Prince de Harcourt what he thought. Turenne knowing he wou'd tell him whether he wou'd or not, consented ; on which the Count de Harcourt justifi'd himself with Reasons and offers of Service, and Turenne seem'd contented. The Enemy rais'd the Siege of Chivas, and a Detachment of fifteen hundred Men join'd the Garrison of Ivree, at the Passage of the Doire, which the French Army was to pass, Turenne led the Vanguard, and drove the Enemy from their Post, after a very hot Engagement ; he then past the River, cut some Squadrons of Horse to pieces who resisted him : halted there, and waited for the Count de Harcourt's coming up with the Foot. This Prince testifi'd his Joy in very kind Expressions to the Viscount de Turenne, and now meeting

meeting with no opposition, they march'd to *Ceva*, who open'd its Gates to receive them. *Coni* was taken soon after, and Prince *Thomas* seeing his Affairs declin'd so fast, left the *Spaniards*, and made his Peace with the *French*. The War ceasing on that side, *Turenne* was sent to *Roussillon* to the Mareschal *de Meilleraye*, and the Count *de Harcourt* to *Flanders*. The Viscount ignorant of his Brother's new Engagements with *Cinqmars*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, rejoyc'd that he was to serve in presence of the King. The Mareschal *de Meilleraye* receiv'd him coldly, which very much surpriz'd him: however he did his Duty as well as if he had no reason to be discontented with the Mareschals reception. *Couilloure* was order'd to be besieg'd, and *Turenne* to attack the Forts on the Hills, which straighted the Place by Land, while the Fleet distrest it by Sea. The *Spaniards* knowing the Consequence of losing this Town, march'd to relieve it, and were oppos'd by Monsieur *la Motte Hodancourt*, who kill'd eight hundred of their Men, yet cou'd not hinder their reaching *Villa Fran-cha*, where he again fell on them, and entirely routed them. In this Siege of *Couilloure*, *Turenne* had render'd such signal Service, that *Meilleray* himself cou'd not forbear speaking well of him to his Majesty. The Governour being inform'd that the Relief  
that

that was coming to him had miscarri'd, surrend'red, and the Blockade of *Perpignan* was afterwards turn'd into a Siege, the King being there present : The Garison was strong and resolute : The Enterprize look'd on as desperate; but the Viscount *de Turenne* at a Council of War remov'd all Objections with the strength of his Reasons, one of which was, that he cou'd not believe there was any cause to fear of an Affront while his Majesty did them the Honour to be a Witness of their Actions. The Mareschal *de Meilleray*, under pretence of saving the Mens lives, open'd the Trenches at such a distance from the Town, that they were of little use. *Turenne* saw the fault, yet cou'd not prevail to have the Works push'd farther. *Meilleraye* intending to show, by the backwardness of this Siege, that nothing cou'd go on prosperously where the Cardinal was not present, or did not govern it by his Counsels. His Eminence stay'd at *Narbonne*, feigning to be Sick, though *Cinqmars* favour with the King was his true reason. His Majesty having, since the rise of his new Favourite, been in an ill humour with the Cardinal, who affected to let things run to extremity, to make himself the more wanted. *Grammont* was beaten in *Flanders*, the Frontiers expos'd, and the King sent for the Cardinal to come to him, who excus'd it on account of his Health.

*Meilleraye*

Meilleraye was very cool in the Siege of Perpignan, and the King cou'd not be quiet till he had consulted the Cardinal, whom he design'd to meet half way, to the great joy of his Eminence, and his Creatures. Count Schomberg joyn'd the Army before Perpignan, and after his Majesty was gone, the place was attack'd with vigor. Turenne, whose Judgment was as excellent as his Courage, presently guess'd whence this alteration came; yet, minding only his Duty, wou'd not concern himself in that of others. At Richelieu's Interview with the King, Cinqmar's Conspiracy was discover'd to his Majesty; Cinqmar was Arrested, and orders given to Arrest the Duke of Bouillon. This was a terrible surprize to Turenne, who on a sudden saw himself abandon'd by his best Friends, but he was forc'd to suffer it patiently, and ev'n to hear himself charg'd as an Accomplice with his Brother, though neither the King nor Cardinal believ'd it. He wrote to his Majesty for leave to come to Court and implore his Mercy for his Brother. The King gave him to know he shou'd be consider'd for his sake, and order'd him not to leave the Army. The Count de Plessis took the Duke of Bouillon in Italy. The news came to the King at the same time with that of the surrender of Perpignan to his great joy; for he fear'd he wou'd escape, and put Sedan into the Hands of the Spaniards. Tu-

renne, who had done wonders at this Siege, again pray'd that he might throw himself at his Majesty's Feet, to intercede for his Brother. The Duke of *Bouillon* was close confin'd, and *Turenne* continuing to press his coming to Court, he was permitted. His first Visit was to the Cardinal, whom he intreated in the most moving terms to speak to the King in his Brothers favour. The Cardinal gave him now no hopes. He then address to the King himself, and he receiv'd him very ill. In his second Visit to the Cardinal, his Eminence told him his Brothers, and his Relations Conduct woud *ruin him* ~~resist his~~; that the *Spaniards* were marching towards *Sedan*, and not being able to enter it unles they were invited, if they did, there wou'd be no way left to save him. The Viscount assur'd his Eminence he had sent an Express to Madam *de Bouillon* to be on her Guard, and beg'd him to have pitty on a Family which was so nearly related to the Prince of *Orange*; entirely in the Interest of the Crown, and also reward his Brother for the Services he had himself done it, if they had been acceptable to his Majesty. The Cardinal bad him again throw himself on the King's Mercy, and in consideration of his own merit, and of so many considerable Persons to whom they were related, something might be done, which however must be at the Price of *Sedan*, and that too at the Intercession

tercession of the Prince of Orange. This Prince had writ before, and having been deny'd, was not forward to write again. The Viscount prest him Courier after Courier till he consented to intercede on those hard Terms, which threw *Turenne* almost into despair, yet since his Brother's Process was a-foot, and that there was nothing else to save him, he did all he cou'd to do it on that Condition: So the Place was resign'd, which *Richlieu* had so long wish'd for; the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Pardon was drawn, and a private Article, that he shou'd have Lands of equal Value in *France*, and have the same Rank among the Princes that he then held. Cardinal *Richlieu* did not long survive the Death of *Cinqmars* and Monsieur *de Thou*, both beheaded for a Conspiracy, to call in the Spaniards to assist them in their endeavours to get rid of that Minister. *Lewis XIII.* dy'd soon after, and the Goverment fell into the Hands of *Anne of Austria*, Mother of *Lewis XIV.* and the Cardinal of *Mazarine*. *Turenne* entr'd himself by the Queen's consent into the Service of Prince *Thomas of Savoy*. Prince *Thomas* did nothing without consulting the Viscount, and 'twas by his Advice that *Villa-Nova* was besieg'd; he then proceeded further into the *Milaneze*, form'd the Siege of *Turin*, and made himself Master of the Place. The Queen-Mother about this time, sent him the Baton of a Mareschal of

France, 1644. but he wou'd never own that Quality, as below the Dignity of his House, tho' it had lost its Sovereignty. Divisions and Factions began now to encrease in the French Court, the Nobility abhorring the Name of a Cardinal Minister, since Richlien's Tyranny, and the more, for that Mazarine was a Foreigner. The Parliament of Paris, by the Intrigues of the President *de Novion*, who hop'd his Kinsman, the Bishop of Beauvais wou'd have shar'd in the Ministry, were no more inclin'd to the Cardinal than the Nobles. The Queen thought if her Armies succeeded, She need not fear the Factions, and obliging the Princes of the Blood with Commands, she secur'd herself that way. The Command of the Army in *Flanders* was given to the Duke of *Orleans*, with Marechal *de Meilleraye* under him. Another Army in the same place was commanded by the Duke *d' Anguien*, and a third by the Viscount *de Turenne*. This Prince was afterwards sent into *Germany* very ill provided, with seven thousand Men, and those extreamly fatigu'd, to oppose the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorrain*; besides, his Troops wanted all sorts of Necessaries, and to supply them, he sold his Plate, which endear'd him to the Officers and Soldiers. Having mounted his Cavalry, he pass'd the *Rhine* with that small Army, to the great Surprize of the Enemy, who had three times his Number.

ber. They laid ambuscades, and endeavour'd to entrap him, all which he wisely avoided, and threw Succour into *Friburg*, where the Garrison was in a weak Condition. The *Bavarians* did their utmost to draw him to an Engagement, but seeing he retir'd under the Cannon of *Brisac*, they invested *Friburg* with their whole Army. The Garrison were put out of heart at the first Battery, considering the Numbers of the Besiegers, and the little likelihood they had of Assistance. *Turenne* fore-saw the Enemies Design, and gave Advice of it to *Mazarine*, telling him, 'twas impossible for him to prevent the loss of the Place with the few Troops he had with him: So the Duke of *Anguien* was order'd immediately to joyn him, and to march together to the Relief of *Friburg*. *Turenne* gave the Governour information of it, but he had not patience to stay so long, the Town being surrendred before the Duke's arrival; the Viscount, who cou'd have succour'd it himself, had not the Cardinal given Orders for him to hazard nothing, till he had joyn'd the Duke of *Anguien*, was in a great Rage with the Governour, and the Duke threaten'd to have him hang'd. The *Germans* on that Prince's March, fortify'd themselves in an advantageous Post, yet when the Duke *d' Anguien* arriv'd, having consulted the *Viscount de Turenne*, they both resolv'd to attack the

Enemies Camp near *Friburg*, tho' the access to it seem'd unapproachable; 'twas situate on two Hills encompass'd with Woods, they had besides cut down Trees and laid them cross the way. The Duke *d' Anguien* having order'd the Viscount *de Turenne* to dislodge some Infantry which the Enemy had thrown into the Woods, advanc'd in the direct Road, where he met with such Resistance, that had not *Turenne* come off better, he must have given over the Combat. The Viscount march'd to the Wood, whose entrance was guarded by Trees laid before it, the Boughs still on them, and interwoven one in another, behind these were the Enemies. *Turenne* play'd his Cannon on them, which shot either too high or too low, he then commanded the Foot to give the Assault, and they did it so bravely, that they drove the *Germans* from their first Entrenchments; before he wou'd venture farther he order'd the way to be clear'd for his Horse, but there were such quantities of Trees thrown across one another, that their Labour was in vain; the Foot were themselves to fight their way, and behind every Entrenchment found the *Germans* lodg'd to receive them. The whole Day was spent in driving them out of the Wood, and Night coming on, the Horse advanc'd to be ready against break of Day; the mean while the Enemy decamp'd as silently as they cou'd,

and

and the Duke of *Anguien* after he had visited their Post pursu'd them ; the Germans retreat'd towards *Friburg*, as a place that cou'd best secure them. The two Armies were quickly in sight of each other, the Enemies depending on the Strength of their Post, expected their Attack, and the Duke *d' Anguien* prepar'd to entrench himself before them. The Germans sent out several Parties to hinder their Attacks, but his Men not being us'd to stand on the Defence, sally'd in a Body out of their Camp, and fell on their Enemies, others follow'd their Example, and as their Charge was without Order on the *French* side, little cou'd be hop'd from it, if *Turenne* with the Regiment of *Fleiktein* had not made Head against the Germans, and given the *French* time to retreat. The Duke of *Anguien*, who got on Horse-back, for the same purpose, seeing he had prevented him, met the Viscount, and told him, he had in that Action done the King a great Service. All things were thus appeas'd, and a Council of War held, where 'twas resolv'd to lead the Soldiers to the Charge, since they were so willing for it ; but the Germans were so well entrench'd, the *French* cou'd not hurt them. The Duke then broke up, and posted himself at *Landshingen*, to cut off their Provisions ; this Design took, and the Enemy was forc'd to retire ; which the Duke having notice of, he follow'd them

on one side, while the Viscount *de Turenne* pursu'd them on the other. The Duke had a small Rencounter with the Enemy, who were in such Confusion, that had it not been for the Country, which was difficult to pass, he wou'd have had a compleat Victory. The Prince, however, took part of their Cannon and Baggage. 'Twas thought that after this, he shou'd have besieg'd *Friburg*, but *Turenne* having represented to him, that the Enemy had emptied their other Garrisons to provide for this, he employ'd the Foot on the *Rhine*, while the Horse invested *Philipsburg*. The Viscount's Reputation did not shine so much as it ought to have done in these Enterprizes, because he serv'd under another, but considering 'twas under the first Prince of the Blood, he was content. The Enemy rally'd their broken Forces, and with a great deal of trouble march'd towards *Heilbron*, where severall Garrisons were to Rendezvous in order to relieve *Philipsburg*, but the Duke pushing forward his Attacks, the Town was taken before they cou'd attempt it. The Prince wou'd not leave *Philipsburg* till he had repair'd and enlarg'd the Fortifications, while part of the Army under the Viscount *de Turenne* was to besiege *Worms*; in his March he met General *Beck*, who wou'd dispute his Passage, but *Turenne* routed him, and the Town open'd its Gates to the Viscount. *Oppenheim* follow'd the Example

ample of *Worms*. He then besieg'd *Mentz*, which surrender'd before the Enemy cou'd get together sufficient Troops to succour it. The Duke of *Anguien* being jealous of the Viscount's Progress, came to the Army just as the Town capitulated, and *Turenne* gave him the Honour of the Capitulation, an eminent Proof of his Modesty and Prudence. The Duke after he had made his Entry into the Town in Triumph, went to Court, and left the Command of the Army to the Viscount *de Turenne*, who took *Landau* and *Baccarac*, where his Army grew debauch'd with the Wine they found in the Place; he punish'd the Soldiers and chid the Officers, by his Example and Conduct, reforming them of so dangerous a Vice. After the taking of so many Towns, a great many more of less Importance surrender'd also, which so weaken'd his Army with the Garrisons they drew from it, that the Enemy again ventur'd to take the Field. The Viscount believ'd he had done enough, and that it wou'd be well if he cou'd preserve his Conquests; so he stood on the defensive, making the preservation of *Philipsburg* his chief Care. The Germans perceiving he kept about that place, fell upon *Manheim* and took it, there being no more than four Companies in Garrison; they attempted *Spire*, *Baccarac* and *Creutznac*, the first they carry'd, the two last Places made more Resistance,

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and gave time to the Viscount to march against them, and then they presently retir'd on the other side of the *Maine*. As he was ready to pass that River, he heard they had besieg'd *Holcht*, a small Town belonging to the Princefs of *Hesse*, then in Alliance with the *French*; to divert the Enemy, he attack'd *Germersheim* and took it. The *Germans* wou'd have made themselves Master of *Holcht* before he cou'd have reliev'd it. The Cardinal to encourage him, sent him two thousand *Lewis-d'-Ors*, which, however, were not the quarter part of what he had laid out on his Army; he complain'd to his Eminence, that the Money he had disburs'd, was borrow'd, and as nothing disgusted him so much, as being in Debt, he began to resent it, that the Cardinal took no more Care of him that he might discharge it. The Duke of *Beaufort* and those of his Cabal, knowing his Temper wou'd not bear such usage, which hinder'd him from paying the Money he had borrow'd, and set the Count *de Chastre* on him to make Proposals from the Party of the Male-Contents. The Count was then in the *Bastile* for declarling against *Mazarine*, and *Turenne* us'd to visit him when he was at *Paris*. Many more Offers were made him by the Cabal, to which he reply'd as to the Count *de Chastre*, That no Chagrin shou'd tempt him to do any thing he might repent of; that he was the Queen's Servant,

Servant, and that all her Enemies shou'd be his. He was a Man of too much Honour to say any thing of it to her Majesty, and besides, his Brother the Duke of Bouillon had advis'd him not to do it. The Persons he must accuse being in Power, and his Proofs not strong enough to convict them ; what still troubl'd and embarrass'd the Viscount most, was to see himself so neglected by the Court, that they had told him he must do as well as he cou'd, for 'twas impossible for them to furnish him as he shou'd be furnish'd to recruit his Army. He was often resolv'd to quit the Service on such surprizing News. But his Enemies were so busy about him, that in Honour he cou'd not do it, and was oblig'd to take the Field to defend his Conquests. Having prevented their Designs on Philipsburg, the Germans turn'd their Forces on the Country of Hesse. The Viscount seeing the desolate State of the Princess, past the Rhine, and forc'd them to pass the Neckar, and passing that River also, follow'd them to the Mountains, but the greater part of his Soldiers being so fatigu'd, that they cou'd not well go farther, and others left behind, the Ways were so bad, and the Rains fell so violent, that they cou'd not come up with him, he rather chose to let the Enemy escape, than to expose his own Men to the Cruelty of the People, who butcher'd those that were behind. He sent Colonel Rose after

after them to see what was become of them; having resolv'd to put his Army into Winter-Quarters, he fear'd the *Germans* might return upon them, unless they were observ'd. *Rose* took some Prisoners, who inform'd him their Design was the same, to go into Quarters; but the Enemy no sooner heard that he was gone, than they sent four thousand Horse, who lodg'd themselves in the Post he quitted, twenty four hours after he left it. The Viscount had dispos'd of his Army into Winter-Quarters, the Soldiers were dispers'd up and down, and far from mistrusting any such Surprize, one part of them was routed before the other heard of their Enemies approach, and all was in Disorder. 'Tis impossible to express the Viscount's Grief, yet he resolv'd to perish or save his Troops, he sent notice to his Men in all their Quarters, to meet him at a certain place where he expected them. 'Twas very hazardous for those to come who were at a distance, the *Bavarians* having seiz'd the Passages, and kill'd or taken all that presented themselves before them. Some escap'd and came to the Place appointed, with these he made Head against the Enemy, and expos'd himself on all occasions to cover the Retreat of his scatter'd Troops to *Mariendale*, where his Foot rested. *Mercy*, General of the *Bavarians*, who knew that his Victory wou'd be compleat, if he cou'd have broken these rally'd

Troops,

Troops, did his utmost, and had not Night hinder'd him, the Viscount might have been put to it to escape. The *Germans* fear'd to follow him, lest he might have laid Ambuscades in the Woods, which were thick thereabouts, neither in the dark cou'd they well guess which way he took, so they thought best to stop till Day-break; but the Viscount hasten'd in the Night to gain the River of *Main*, and only a few of the Train fell into the Enemies Hand, with part of his Equipage, which he abandon'd on purpose to amuse them. They durst not follow him farther for want of Provisions, so he repast the *Rhine* to his great Affliction, tho' he was not in the least to be blam'd for his Conduct, the Fault lying on Colonel *Rose*, who, had he sent out small Parties, wou'd have learnt which way the Enemy went, and *Turenne* might then have easily been on his Guard. The *Imperialists* now renew'd their former designs to ruin and destroy the Territories of the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, and had done it if the *Swedes* had not left all to run to his assistance. The Viscount *de Turenne*, whose Soul was too great to be abash'd by one unfortunate Blow, collected the reliques of his Army, and repast the *Rhine* to join the *Swedes*. He held Conferences with their Chiefs, who resolv'd to stand on their Guard till Succour came from *France*; which *Mazarin* found difficult to provide. The *French* Court were  
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so dilatory in their Supplies to the *Swedes*, and their Arms every where else were so Victorious, while they were on the defensive in *Germany*, that the Allies lost all Patience, and *Turenne* cou'd not tell how to excuse it. The Duke of *Anguien* at last advanc'd towards them from *Lorrain*, and join'd the Viscount. The only difficulty now was to content the *Swedes*, who though the Enemies were preparing to defend the Passage of the *Neckar*, demanded to separate. The Duke began to be extraordinarily transported; but *Turenne* having conyinc'd him Foreigners are not to be gain'd that way, he was content that the Viscount shou'd by fair means endeavour to keep them. *Köningsmark*, who had made his Fortune by it, and was now weary of the War, was deaf to all Entreaties; and the General of *Hesse* was also positive for their dividing. All that *Turenne* cou'd do, was to prevail on them, that the General of *Hesse* shou'd stay till he had new Orders from his Mistress, the Princess regent, and during this Contest, the Enemy entrench'd themselves on the River's side, which made the Duke loth to pass it in their sight, so he rather chose to attack *Wimpfen*; the Place taken, the Army past the *Neckar* and march'd after the *Germans*, who by the command of the Duke of *Bavaria*, were retir'd to defend his Country. The two Armies came in sight of each other near

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near *Norlingen*. The Viscount de Turenne, commanded the left Wing, and considering there was no way to gain the Battel but by passing between a Village and a Hill, on which the *Germans* had planted some Cannon, he charg'd those that oppos'd his Passage so fiercely, that he put them to flight, tho' he was all the while open to the Enemy's Fire from both the Hill and the Village. The *French*, as is at large seen in the Prince of *Conde's* Life, got the Victory. The *German* Foot abandon'd by the Horse, were cut to pieces, no Quarter given till the Viscount de Turenne put a stop to the effusion of Blood ; he never refus'd Quarter when demanded, and rode over a Soldier who kill'd an Enemy in his Presence in cool Blood. His Horse was kill'd under him in this Battel, and the Glory of the Day disputed justly by the Viscount, tho' the Duke d' *Anguien* bore away the Honour as General. This Prince when the Fight was over, retir'd to *Philipsburg*, pretending some Indisposition, and left the command of the Army to the Viscount de Turenne and the Mareschal de *Grammont*, who were oblig'd to retreat under the Cannon of *Philipsburg*, by the approach of the Arch-Duke *Leopold* and *Galas*, both coming upon them with the chief Force of the Empire ; the Arch-Duke made a show as if he intended to pass the *Rhine*, but he found the *French* so strongly posted, he durst

not

not attack them ; he contented himself with retaking the Places the *Imperialists* had lost. The Duke *d'Angrien* was now to command in *Flanders* under the Duke of *Orleans*, by which means *Turenne* was Chief in *Germany*, which he wou'd not have been sorry for, had they left Troops enough with him to defend himself. But the Cardinal had so much Business on his Hands in *Catalonia*, *Savoy* and *Flanders*, 'twas enough, he thought, if the Viscount *de Turenne* cou'd keep himself from being beaten. The Mareschal *de Grammont* was order'd with six thousand Men to serve under the Prince of *Orange*, in a separate Army, for his Highness refus'd to act in conjunction with the Duke of *Orleans*, because he cou'd not have the Command of the Army immediately after him. *Turenne* winter'd in *Germany*, perpetually soliciting for Reinforcements to drive the *Imperialists* out of the Country of *Hesse*, which they ravag'd at pleasure. The *Landgrave* joyn'd his Prayers to the solicitations, yet 'twas impossible for *Mazarine* to satisfie them, tho' the *Landgrave* threaten'd otherwise to make Peace with the Enemy, and the *Imperialists* had seiz'd the Passages to prevent *Turenne's* joyning with *Koningsmark* or *Tortenson* the *Swede's* Generals. The Viscount knowing how true the Princess of *Hesse* had been to the Interest of the French King, study'd Night and Day to assist her Son,

Son, if possible; he pretended Orders to joyn the Prince of *Orange*, and past the *Rhine* on a Bridge of Boats, which that Prince had laid over the River, at *Wesel*, he then hasten'd to reach the *Main*, which he must of necessity go over to come at the *Swedes*, the only hopes that were left him, to deliver the *Landgrave of Hesse*; so long a march surpriz'd the Enemy, who cou'd not presently believe he design'd to joyn the *Swedes*. When they heard he had past the *Rhine* and the *Main*, they made a Detachment to advance on the side of the River, and march'd in a Body to meet him. He prevented them by extream diligence, and after having dislodg'd four or five hundred of the fore-most, he past the River, made himself Master of several Towns, which he blew up, preserving only *A schaffenburg*: This terrify'd others so much, that they readily brought him their Keys. He not being able to put Garrisons into them, lest he shou'd weaken his small Army of eight thousand Men, took Hostages of them. Thus in a little time he conquer'd a great extent of Ground, and to his Joy, enrich'd his Army with the Plunder. Nothing cou'd please him more, than to see his Men pleas'd; and he was truly stil'd the Father of his Soldiers, who lov'd them indeed, as if they had been his Children; he was us'd to talk familiarly with them, and to walk alone out of his Tent, to listen to their Discourses

of him; once he stop'd at a Barrack, and hearing two Soldiers in Discourse about him, he hearken'd, one of them said, They had the best General in the World, and that he wanted only one thing to be as brave as the Duke of *Anguien*. He endeavour'd to mind the Voice so well as he might know it another time; he went closer to the Barrack, and heard them talk to another in his Praise. The *Imperialists* not being able to hinder his passing the *Neckar* and the *Lek*, he got up with the *Swedes*, and by their Junction, they were empower'd to enter on some considerable Action. The Electorate of *Bavaria* was empty'd of Troops to strengthen the *Imperial* Army, so they enter'd it. The Viscount met with little Resistance, the fortify'd places surrender'd on his appearance, and had he not been stop'd at *Rhain*, he might have surpriz'd the Elector, who was diverting himself at a Country-House. These Affairs did not make him forget the Conversation at the Barrack, and at a review of the Army when he came to the Regiment, he suspected the Man belong'd to, whom he had heard talk of him, he call'd them over one by one, and when the Fellow answer'd he remember'd his Voice; he ask'd him his Name, how long he had serv'd, and many other Questions, which to hinder Suspicion, he askt others also; his Regiment doing Duty before *Rhain*, he made him leave the Breast-Work, dismounted

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dismounted him and carry'd him to the Trenches, where the Fellow quak'd and turn'd pale for fear. He then ask'd him if he was well, and the Man not knowing what to say, he said, Friend, Do not wonder another time, if I am not so brave as the Duke of *Anguien*, since you see you are no braver than my self; go to your Regiment and learn to speak thus of no body, much less of your General, and this was all the Correction he gave him. *Rhain* surrender'd after a good Defence; the Army contrary to the Viscount de Turenne's Opinion besieг'd *Ausbourg*; the *Swedes* wou'd attempt it, and were forc'd to raise the Siege. The *Swedes* believ'd the Viscount favour'd the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Territories, who had offer'd Propositions of Peace; *Mazarine* was in suspence whether he shou'd accept them or not, and wrote to *Turenne* for his Opinion. The Viscount answer'd, It did not belong to him to meddle with such things, but to execute the King's Orders. Peace concluded, *Turenne* repast the *Rhine*, with which the *Swedes* were so dissatisfy'd, that they debauch'd good part of his Soldiers from him. The Arch-bishop of *Menz* and other Princes in the Emperor's Interest, endeavour'd to cut off his Retreat. Thus he who had humbled the most powerful Prince of the Empire, found himself stop'd by such as were every way weaker than the Duke *Bavaria*. He disappointed all their

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hopes, retook the Town of *Sclingenstat* and *Aschaffenburg*, which had surrender'd to the *Imperialists*; thence he march'd against the Prince of *Darmstadt*, who wou'd have united the Country of *Hesse* with that of *Darmstadt*, which had been separated by the Ancestors of the Prince of *Hesse*, of whom the Prince of *Darmstadt* descended. These Exploits increas'd his Fame, and the Court knew not whom they shou'd oppose to the Arch-Duke, but the Viscount *de Turenne*; they therefore resolv'd he shou'd march to *Luxemburg*. The *Swedes* were highly offended at his departure, *Koningmark* again endeavour'd to debauch his Troops; he had three thousand Horse of that Nation in his Army, who treated by the means of Colonel *Rose*, with *Koningmark*; *Turenne* had notice and thrice admonish'd *Rose* to be faithful to his Trust. This Gentleman had been disgusted with the General ever since the Retreat of *Mariendale*. The Viscount finding his mild Methods wou'd not reclaim him, and that he continu'd his Intrigues, secur'd his Person. The Officers petition'd for his release; these he put off with fair words, till he saw that wou'd not do, for they demanded their discharge, alledging they were not bound to serve in *Flanders*. Monsieur *Turenne* seiz'd some of them, the remainder and three thousand Horse divided from the rest of the Army. The General sent them a Trumpet

pet to command their return to their Post and Duty, which was ineffectual, he afterwards attack'd them, kill'd a great Number, and the rest escap'd to *Koningsmark*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, when the Viscount was gone, thought to evade the Treaty he had made, to break with the *Swedes*, and drive them out of the Places which he yielded to them by it. These Dissensions, and the Emperor's Solicitations invited him to it, and he had perhaps effected his Design, if the Viscount *de Turenne*, who was not got to *Luxemburg*, had not return'd to prevent him. The Duke of *Bavaria* thinking the General was so provok'd against the *Swedes*, he might persuade him to forsake them, sent him word, that he had no intention to break with *France*. *Mazarine* had order'd a Reinforcement to the Viscount's Army, who now past the *Rhine* with ten thousand Men, the greatest Body of Troops he had yet commanded in Chief. Whatever Opposition was form'd against his Passage, he overcame all, and arriv'd in good time to assist the *Swedes* that were very much distrest by the *Imperialists* and *Bavarians*. The Duke of *Bavaria* hearing that he march'd towards his Territories, dispatch'd a Courier, assuring him he resolv'd to preserve inviolable the last Treaty of Peace with the Crown of *France*, and praying him to do the same. The Viscount answer'd, 'Twas he himself that had broke it,

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and that he was commanded to bring him to Reason. The Duke then order'd his Forces to the *Danube*, and having past that River, he made as tho' he intended to fight the *French* and their Allies. The Viscount was not to be deceiv'd with appearances, he told the *Swedes* their shew wou'd come to nothing, as it prov'd, for they soon retir'd to *Donavert*, in hopes the *French* wou'd follow them and besiege that place; but the Viscount resolv'd to enter immediately into the heart of the Country, past the *Danube* at *Lavinguen*, left the heaviest part of his Equipage on the other side, and hearing that *Melander*, who commanded the Enemy's Army, had also past that River at *Donavert*, he march'd against him and offer'd him Battel. *Melander* fear'd he shou'd expose the Country too much, if he shou'd be unfortunate, and wou'd have avoided it by gaining the little River *Amut*, intending to cover himself behind it. But the Viscount did not give him time, so the Fight begun near *Somerhawen*. *Melander* seeing he was surpriz'd, stood firm with the Rear-Guard of his Army, while the Van-Guard continu'd to march on. The *Bavarians* were presently seiz'd with fear, and began to be in Disorder, to prevent which, he put himself at their Head and was wounded; he found his Wound was mortal, yet being more careful of his Men than of himself, he commanded his Officers to make them pass  
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the River, and fell from his Horse, crying, March on. The Van-Guard were got over, and the Rear going when this Accident happen'd, every one in the Terror he was in, crowded to get before his Fellow, which increasing the Confusion, the Viscount easily routed those who were not past over. The Enemy broke down the Bridges and abandon'd entire Companies to the Allies. He commanded Faggots and pieces of Wood to be brought, and the Bridges to be repair'd; but the Enemy lin'd the Hedges with their Foot, and disturb'd the Labourers so much, that Night came before they had finish'd. To make the work short, he order'd the Horse to ford the River, but Duke *Wirtemburg* commanding the Enemy's Cavalry, behav'd himself so bravely, the Design was impracticable; he then order'd the Artillery to play on them, which was executed with success, yet the Duke of *Wirtemburg* stood firm in the midst of danger, till his Men were retreated toward the *Lek*, and in the Night he himself retir'd. The Viscount past his Army over the Bridge of *Rhain*, the Enemy immediately decamp'd, and the Duke of *Bavaria* was so alarm'd, that he fled from *Munick* his Capital City at seventy eight Years of Age; the less to be pity'd, for his usurping the Lower *Palatinate* from the Heirs of the King of *Bohemia*, Father to the Princess *Sophia of Hannover*, on whom the Parliament

ment of *England* has settled the Crown after the decease of Her present Majesty without Issue. *Turenne* and *Wrangel* the Swedes General, resolv'd then to pass the River *Inn* to joyn twenty thousand Male-Contents in *Austria*, which Resolution was only prevented by the extraordinary flowing of that River, they return'd then to the Heart of *Bavaria*; *Picolomini* with the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Troops, being now marching to drive them out, when the Peace of *Munster*, 1648. put an end to all Hostilities on that side. Before the Articles were ratify'd, the two Armies lay quiet, the *Imperialists* on the other side of the *Isere*, and the *French* on this. Hunting was Monsieur *de Turenne*'s usual Diversification, and the Forests abounding with Game, a Week seldom past, but he destroy'd or took 100 Wild Beasts, whereof the Enemy having notice, thought to surprize the Chiefs of the Army, and as they were one Day Hunting, *John de Weart* past the *Isere* with five hundred Horse, and beating off the Dragoons who guarded the entrance of the Forest; every one was alarm'd with the Danger, the more, because the Wood was encompast with a Bog, and there was no other way to go out, besides that which the Enemy had possess'd. The Company rally'd around the Generals: Monsieur *de Turenne* and *Wrangel*, who knew of no Remedy for such a Misfortune, but to die bravely with their Arms in

in their Hands, rather than be taken, this was their Resolution : When the Dogs rouz'd a Stag, which shew'd them a way over the Bog, not above two Foot broad, they follow'd the Game, and we suppose with as good a will as ever, and return'd safe to the Army. Great was the Joy on their appearance, the Dragoons and the Guard having inform'd them of the Peril they were in. *John de Wert* missing his Blow, made off as fast as he cou'd the same way as he came, and 'twas well for him that he was so diligent ; if he had not, the whole Army had come down upon him. The Peace being concluded in *Germany*, the Articles were no sooner ratifi'd than *Mazarine* discover'd his design to employ the Viscount *de Turenne's* Troops against the Parliament of *Paris* ; but this Prince hearing all *France* declar'd against the Cardinal Minister, he thought to make sure of Colonels, whose Pay was most in Arrears, and who for that Reason desir'd a Revolution in the Ministry : they promis'd to be true to him. Viscount *de Turenne* woud have join'd the Duke of *Orleance*, his Royal Highness having vow'd the ruin of *Mazarin*, by the persuasion of the Bishop of *Langres* his Favourite ; yet this Duke reconcil'd himself as soon as the Bishop of *Langres* had new assurance of *Mazarine* that he thou'd have a Cap at the next Promotion of Cardinals. That Minister had refus'd the Government of

*Auvergne*

*Auvergne* to the Viscount, which kept him from thinking of an accommodation on that side. The Officers of the Army in *Germany*, though they had giv'n their word to Viscount *de Turenne*, deputed some of their number to the Cardinal, to assure him they were at his Service, if he wou'd pay them. His Eminence was not in a condition to do it, had not *Monsieur Hervart*, Controller of the Finances lent him the Money, and parted himself with Bills of Exchange for the Army. The Viscount had notice of it, and seeing there was no safety for him there, he retir'd to the Arch-Duke at *Brussels*, to whom he was extraordinary welcome. The Prince of *Conde*, then in the Interest of the Queen Mother and *Mazarine*, having reduc'd *Paris* to Reason, 1649. the Parliament made Peace, and the Viscount *de Turenne* return'd to Court with the rest of the Male-Contents. Before his arrival there, the Prince of *Conde* sent to demand his friendship. Viscount *de Turenne*, believing he was still in the Court Interest, return'd his Complement as he desir'd. This Prince dissatisfi'd with the Cardinal, had left the Party of the Queen Mother, and set up one of his own, to remove the Favourite from the Ministry. The Viscount *de Turenne* was unwilling to be again involv'd against the Court; but not knowing of the Prince of *Conde*'s designs, he waited on him to assure him of the Promises he had made

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in their first Conversation ; he perceiv'd his discontent with the Cardinal, which was so great, that *Mazarine* plac'd Bravo's on the *Pontneuf* to Assassinate him, they shot into his Coach, yet did no hurt, only wounded a Page of *Monsieur de Duras*, who was behind. The Cardinal gave out that the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor of *Paris*, the Prince of *Conde*'s Enemies were the Authors of this attempt ; the Prince believ'd it, and swore to be reveng'd. The Coadjutor, by the means of the Duke of *Orleance*, reconcil'd himself with the Cardinal, and to be safe from the power of the Prince of *Conde*, advis'd to seize his Person. Thence follow'd the Imprisonment of the Princes of *Conde*, *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*. Their Friends retir'd into the Provinces, and to the Frontiers, where they believ'd themselves strong enough to kindle a Civil War. Viscount de *Turenne* escap'd to *Stenay*, 1650. and was met there by his Regiment of Horse, the best of *France*. Madam de *Longueville* came also to *Stenay*, and being a Princess of excellent Beauty and Wit, the Viscount grew amorous, though he us'd to say that the finest Woman living did not deserve a Man of Sense's throwing away a months time after her; but she prefer'd *La Monfaye*, Governor of the Place, to the Viscount de *Turenne*, which distinction occasion'd some raillery injurious to the Affairs of her Brother

ther the Prince of Conde. The Viscount confer'd with the Arch-Duke, who had treated with the Princes, and march'd to their assistance. Leopold wou'd have attack'd some Town on the Frontiers, but Viscount de Turenne, whose intention was not to trouble the Kingdom, but to release the Princes, told the Arch-Duke if he meant any thing else, he knew what Party he shou'd take. That Prince yielded at last to the Viscount, and instead of stopping on the Frontiers, they immediatly crost with two thousand Horse over Champaign, and came to *la Ferte Milon*, designing next day to invest *Vincennes*, where the Princes were confin'd. They were on his approach remov'd to *Marcoussis*, and thence to *Havre de Grace*, which extremely griev'd the Viscount de Turenne : he then return'd to the Arch-Duke, against whom the Mareschal *du Plessis* march'd, and at *Sompuis* near *Rhetel* the Armies engag'd. Turenne Commanded the Left Wing, which beat *du Plessis* in the Right of the Enemy : the Arch-Duke's Right suffer'd as much. His care was to gain some Advantage on the Frontiers, so he order'd the Viscount to retire, and wou'd not Rally his Men; which *du Plessis* had done, and was engag'd again with Viscount de Turenne, who was now encompass'd on all sides, and having no other way to escape, he made off with the Captain of his Guard, and his Gentleman ; he

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was pursu'd a League by a Party, whom, though far inferior in number, he fac'd, kill'd the foremost, and put the rest to flight. He endeavour'd then to reach the Arch-Duke; but lost his way. He rode sixty Miles on one Horse, and was thirty six hours without either eating or drinking. The Arch-Duke rejoyc'd to hear he was got to a place of safety, fearing he was kill'd or taken. This blow was dreadful news for the Princes in Prison. *Mazarin* triumph'd, and Viscount *de Turenne* vex'd to see himself in the Hands of *Spaniards*, whom he cou'd not persuade to take the Field in time, which hinder'd him from assisting his Friends; who were at last set at liberty by the Cardinal, and himself forc'd to leave the Kingdom. The Viscount on the Prince of *Conde's* return to Court, and into Council, flatter'd himself that he shou'd be consider'd for his Zeal in his Service, and his Expence in raising Troops, which run him in Debt, yet the Prince receiv'd him so coldly, that he was wonderfully surpriz'd, and complain'd to his Friends. They told the Prince of it, who was so far from excusing, that he vindicated his Conduct, and accus'd the Viscount for speaking against his Sister the Duchess of *Longueville*, at *Brussels*. The Viscount said 'twas the Duchess that had rail'd at him to *la Moussaye*. The Queen was glad of this difference, in hopes to engage

gage the Viscount *de Turenne* in her Interest, and to promote the Cardinals return from Banishment. The Prince of *Conde* wou'd have the Ministry entirely in his own Hands, and pretending the Cardinals Counsels were still follow'd, began to Cabal, and form the design of a new Rupture. The Queen Mother finding the Viscount *de Turenne* was discontent with the Prince, order'd Monsieur *de Lionne* to make offers to him in her name. The Prince of *Conde* had not yet declar'd himself, and the Viscount answer'd in general terms, not willing to enter farther into the intrigue ; having one of his own in agitation with *Mademoiselle de la Force*, whom he marry'd.

She was a Lady of illustrious Birth, of Beauty, Vertue and Worth; so that this Match was generally lik'd by the Court, and the Families concern'd. The difference between the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Orleance*, and the Prince of *Conde* increasing, the Queen secur'd as many of the Nobility as she cou'd in her Interest. The Viscount *de Turenne*, among the rest, gave her assurances of his Service, though he continu'd still to visit the Prince of *Conde*, who fearing he shou'd need his assistance, caress'd him in an unusual manner. The Prince being inform'd in time, that the Queen intended to have him again Arrested, prepar'd to defend himself. He treated with *Spain* for Supplies,

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Supplies, and retir'd to St. Maur. Both Sides now got their Friends together. The Prince's Friends crowded to St. Maur, and the Queens Servants to Court ; with these came the Viscount de Turenne. His Brother, the Duke of Bouillon, withdrew to St. Maur, but being reflected on for not bringing the Viscount his Brother, and having some hot words with the Prince of Conde about it, he left the Prince, and was made Minister of State by the Queen. The War broke out first in Guienne, where the Prince of Conde was Master. Against him the Queen sent the Count de Harcourt, which disgusted the Viscount de Turenne, yet he dissembled his discontent, and still made his Court to the Queen. The King went with the Count de Harcourt into Guienne, and the Cardinal took hold of these Troubles to return to the Ministry. Count de Harcourt, after some advantage which he had got over the Prince of Conde, quitted the Army in discontent, and retir'd to Alsace, 1652. While the Prince was in Guienne, the Duke of Beaufort, who commanded the Duke of Orleance's Troops, and the Duke de Nemours with the Prince of Conde's, endeavour'd to pass the Loire to the Relief of Montrond, besieged by the Queens Forces. The Queen order'd the Viscount de Turenne, and the Mareschal d' Hoquin court, to observe the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours. Viscount de Turenne and

and *de Hoquincourt* divided their Army, seeing the Dukes were divided, and though *de Turenne's* Forces were at that time very inconsiderable, he did his utmost to render himself worthy the Confidence the Queen had in him. The Prince of *Conde* left *Gienne*, because of the division between the Dukes of *Beaufort* and *Nemours*; he crost the Provinces with eight persons in his Company: he had twice like to have been taken, yet at last he got safe to his Army, who rejoic'd to see him. The Prince march'd to *Montargis*, which surrender'd without Resistance. Then he attack'd the Mareschal *d' Hoquincourt* in his Quarters, and beat him. The Viscount *de Turenne*, hearing of the disorder, mounted his Cavalry, and not staying for the Foot, hasted to the Assistance of *d' Hoquincourt*. The Court were then at *Gien*, and the Prince of *Conde* design'd to surprize the King, if the Viscount *de Turenne* had not prevented him. The Prince march'd against him, and wonder'd to find him prepar'd to receive him; yet for want of Foot he was forc'd to abandon a Wood which the Princes Infantry possess'd, and oblig'd the Viscount to retire behind a Defile, where he put himself into a posture of Defence. The Prince of *Conde* order'd his Horse to advance; but the Viscount considering if he gave them time to Post themselves on the Ground he quitted, he might

might be encompass'd by an Army more than twice as strong as his, repass'd the Defile, and attack'd them in a Plain, which wou'd not contain above eight or ten Squadrons: the Fight lasted some time, but the Prince not finding any advantage by it, gave it over, and contented himself with playing his Cannon: the Viscount *Turenne* did the same till night, and then he march'd to *Gien*, where the Court was infinitely pleas'd to see him; and the Prince of *Conde* by his fondness to enter *Paris* in Triumph, having given the Cardinal time to recruit and enlarge his Army, the Blockade of that City was resolv'd on; the Cardinal consulted the Viscount *de Turenne* if 'twas feizable. The Viscount, tho' he saw many difficulties in the design, said he wou'd serve the King as well as he cou'd, and wou'd answer for his Person; which the Cardinal was most afraid of. The Court went to *Malins* on the River *Seine*, and the more to dispose the Citizens to Peace, Incursions were made daily to the Gates of *Paris*. The Viscount hinder'd all Supplies going to the City by the *Seine*, which wou'd have soon reduc'd them to terms, if the Enemy had not seiz'd *Ettampes*, and so become Masters of the Granaries of *Beausse*, a Province abounding in Corn and Wine. The Viscount, had he been strong enough, wou'd have attack'd *Ettampes*, but finding he was not, he encamp'd

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near *Montlery*, between *Eftampes* and *Paris*, and so cut off all Provision coming to the City. The Prince of *Conde* was with his Army at *Eftampes*, and the Viscount de *Turenne* being inform'd the Duke of *Orleance's* eldest Daughter in returning from a House of her Fathers, wou'd fain see the Prince's Army, resolv'd to surprize it at the review. He accordingly fell upon one of the Suburbs, beat the Enemy out of their Quarters, and alarm'd the rest. The Viscount after this success, attempted to Besiege the Town, and the Army in it. The Prince sent to the Arch-Duke for help, fearing to trust the *Parifians*, who forsook him in his Enterprize on St. *Dennis*. The Arch-Duke prevail'd on the Duke of *Lorrain* to march to his Relief; but this Prince being Covetous beyond measure, was brib'd with a Million of *Livres* to return, provided the Viscount de *Turenne* rais'd the Siege of *Eftampes*, which he did, however the Duke made no great hast out of *France*, and march'd along the *Seine*, plundering all the Villages as he went. The Viscount de *Turenne* was commanded to obſerve him, and he ſent him word, if he did not leave the Country as he agreed to do, he wou'd attack him. The Duke despis'd his Threats, and provok'd him by ſome new Ravage. The Viscount de *Turenne* cou'd bear no longer, but ſent out Parties to oppose him. The Duke of *Lorrain* preſently

sently cri'd out that the Viscount began the Hostilities; he then destroy'd and pillag'd every where in his March, which troubled Monsieur de Turenne so much, that he resolv'd to fight him. The Court wou'd not suffer him to hazard any thing at this time, and having given the Duke of Lorrain some more Money, he went out of the Kingdom. The Prince of Condé expected great matters from the Duke of Lorrains approach, but perceiving there was no dependence on him, he put himself at the Head of his Army, which decreas'd daily, as the King's increas'd; he led his Troops to St. Cloud, and repair'd the Bridge, that he might pass the River, if he were prest. Viscount de Turenne kept cloſe to him; yet was not strong enough to pass the River, so he only obſerv'd his Motions, till Succours arriv'd. The Mareschal de La Ferte was order'd out of Lorrain. The Prince saw, when they were joyn'd Viscount de Turenne and the Mareschal, there was no way left for him but to fight or fly. He staid till the Mareschal came up, and then pass'd his Army over the Bridge of St. Cloud. The Citizens of Paris wou'd not admit them to march through their City, or he had been safe, so he was forc'd to seize an Eminence near the Suburb of St. Martin. The Viscount march'd with speed in order to come up with him. The Prince order'd his Van still

to advance, and himself march'd in the Rear, where he perceiv'd his men already began to be in ~~but~~ fear, having animated them by his presence, he order'd them to double their pace, and then marching to his Van, he reach'd them near the Suburbs of St. *Antony*, where the Armies fought with equal Advantage. The Viscount made himself Master of the Barricade before the Street *Charenton*, which the Prince regain'd, and the Viscount again retook it from him. The Prince his Army had now been entirely routed and cut off, had not the *Parisians* open'd their Gates to him, and *Mademoiselle d'Orleans* turn'd the Cannon of the *Bastille* on the King's Forces, which compell'd the Viscount to sound a Retreat, and lost him the fairest Victory he had ever won. *De Turenne*, when the Army was retreated out of the reach of the Cannon, waited on the King, who saw the Fight from Mount *Mesnil*, and seeing his Cloaths all over bloody, ask'd him if he was not wounded, he said, No, and after he had thank'd his Majesty for his Favours; he complemented the Cardinal on the Death of his Nephew *Mancini*, reported to be kill'd in this Combat by the Prince of *Conde*. While the Army lay near St. *Antoine*, the Duke of *Bouillon* dy'd at *Ponthoise*; the Viscount waited on him there, and was mightily troubled at his Death; he had been before seduc'd by his Wife to embrace the

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Romish Religion. The *Parisians* grew in time weary of the Prince's Army, and were for his fighting Monsieur de *Turenne*, tho' much too weak for it. The Prince again invited in the Duke of *Lorrain* to relieve him, who enter'd *France* and spoil'd the Country as before, to revenge his Losses in his own. The Duke sent the Prince of *Wirtemburg* with five thousand Men towards the River *d'Hieres*, himself marching directly against the Viscount de *Turenne*, in the Plain of St. *Denis*, surrounded him with three Armies, for the Prince of *Conde* approach'd at the same time on the side of the *Seine*. The Court thought, with Reason, 'twould be difficult for the Viscount to clear himself of these three Armies, and knew, if he was beaten, their Cause wou'd be lost. His Conduct was blam'd by many who envy'd him; they said, he ought not to have suffer'd the Enemy to surround him; but he was oblig'd to do it, otherwise he had expos'd the King's Person to eminent Danger. Had he retir'd, the Duke of *Lorrain* wou'd certainly have besieg'd *Ponthoise*; yet there were not wanting some who accus'd him of Intelligence with the Enemy. The Viscount was inform'd of their Discourses, but knowing his own Innocence, he minded only to do his Duty: He made a Bridge over the River *d'Hieres*, and to fatigue the Enemy, order'd Detachments in the Night to pass o-

ver, and immediately to repass ; after doing so for eight or ten Days, the Enemy accustom'd to such Movements, thought they were feign'd, and were the less careful to observe them. Monsieur de Turenne acquainted with their Negligence, pass'd the River in earnest, and breaking the Bridges after him, arriv'd at *Melun* before the Enemy thought to follow him. This glorious Retreat added much to his Reputation, which, however, might not have been so easily effected, if the Prince of Conde had not been sick at *Paris*. The *Parisians* offended with the Ravage and Spoil made by the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Wirtemberg*, made their Peace with the King, nor cou'd the Prince of Conde by his utmost endeavours persuade them to continue in his Interest. The Prince being reduc'd to this extremity, wou'd have treated himself, but the Court refusing to hearken to his Terms, he parted for *Flanders* with several Persons of Quality, and among the rest, the Counts *de Duras* and *de Lorges*, Monsieur de Turenne's Nephews. The Troubles yet continu'd in *Guienne*, and on the Frontiers ; the Prince of Conde seiz'd Place after Place, for that the Viscount was not strong enough to resist him. This Prince tho' he had oblig'd the Cardinal so far, was almost the only Person that he did not reward. He was a Person not in the least mercenary, yet was very ill satisfy'd to be neglected,

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neglected, and complain'd to his Friends, and they to the Cardinal. This Minister fearing he might grow discontented, gave him the Government of the Upper and Lower *Limosin*, where his Family was generally belov'd; he did not go to his Government till he was at rest by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and then manag'd himself so equitably and moderately, that he confirm'd the People in their Love to his House. The Prince of *Conde* was with twenty five thousand Men on the Frontier, and the Viscount had not half his Number; however, he besieg'd *Rhetel*, having first set a Guard on the Passage of the River *Somme*. The Prince hearing he was before that Place, attack'd the Guard, dispers'd them, past the River, and enter'd *Picardy*. The People in a fright ran to the Towns for safety with their Goods, and what they cou'd carry off; a rich Plunder, the Soldiers by this means hop'd for in *Roye* which the Prince attack'd, and because they held out bravely, destroy'd the Place; other Towns fearing the same Usage, open'd their Gates, and he might have march'd to *Paris*, had he not apprehended that the Viscount *de Turenne* wou'd cut off the Passage of the River *Somme*, now he had taken *Rhetel*: he return'd towards that River to prevent him, and offer'd the Viscount Battel, to which the Prince cou'd not draw him, nor compel him, for he still kept him-

self in his Camp. The Prince made a feint on *Arras*, but Monsieur de *Turenne* threw Succour into the Town, then the Enemy turn'd to the Right, and besieg'd *Rocroi*, where the Prince of *Conde* had formerly won a famous Victory. The Viscount de *Turenne* march'd against him, but receiv'd Orders by the way not to hazard a Combat; he sent a Courier to the Cardinal for permission at least to besiege *Monzon*, and without staying for an answer march'd thither. They both conquer'd the Places they aim'd at, and the Prince of *Conde* vext to see the Advantage equal again, offer'd the Viscount Battel. He sent to Court for Orders, and instead of fighting, he was commanded to fortifie his Camp. *Hocquincourt* was about this time forc'd to raise the Siege of *Gironne* by a Miracle, he at first went on successfully, and the Town was reduc'd to such Streights, that the besieg'd had nothing to save them but the Assistance of their Saint *Geneveric*, formerly Bishop of that City, so they implor'd his Mediation, and expos'd his Coffin on the Walls, singing Hymns in his Praise. The French did not understand what they meant by it, and continu'd to fire, when in an instant, there flew out of the Coffin such a number of Flics, as quite darken'd the place around, and these Flics stung the French so furiously, that they ran into the River of *Gironne*. The Mareschal d' *Hocquincourt* having

ving lost his Cavalry, was forc'd to raise the Siege. *Turenne* would not give Credit to this fine Account, till he writ himself to a Person of his own Religion, and it being confirm'd by him (says Monsieur *du Buisson*) he began to believe there must be something Divine in this miraculous Deliverance, and to think well of the Religion which he afterwards embrac'd. We are ashame'd to report such a ridiculous Story, but as this is pretended to be the first cause of the Viscount's abjuration, we thought it might not be improper to shew the vanity of those who imagine he was converted by any thing but his Interest, and the hopes of having the Constable's Staff; a temptation that prevail'd on the Mareschal *de Lestrigueres*, who first made a way by his Apostacy and abandoning the Protestant Cause in *Dauphine* and *Languedoc*, for the great Desertion that has since happen'd, and the Ruin which follow'd to the French Reform'd Churches in general. The Prince of *Conde* was now depriv'd of all his Offices, his Estate confiscated, and his Head proscrib'd by the Parliament of *Paris*; so basely was that Court subjected to the Cardinal's pleasure; and this Minister to revenge himself on the Prince, order'd the Viscount *de Turenne* to besiege *Stenay*. The Prince of *Conde*, in the mean while attack'd *Arras*. The Viscount fore-saw the inconveniences of leaving the Frontiers of *Flanders* open, and remonstrated

monstrated to the Cardinal, desiring that he might pursue his advantage on that side. The Cardinal wou'd have *Stenay* besieg'd, because it belong'd to the Prince of *Conde*, and now he heard that the Prince was before *Arras*, but a hundred and twenty Miles from *Paris*, he was frighten'd, and writ to Monsieur de *Turenne* to act in every thing as he thought for the best. Had these Orders come sooner, the Viscount had shewn the Cardinal that he understood the Business of War better than his Eminence. The Enemy threw twelve hundred Men into *Stenay*, before which place, he left the Marquess of *Faber*, and march'd himself to drive the Spaniards from before *Arras*; in his March he was joyn'd by the Mareschals *de la Ferte* and *d' Hocquincourt*, with the Troops of the Neighbouring Garrisons: These Generals on their approach, rode to view the Enemy's Camp, and the Prince of *Conde* was on Horse-back to repulse them, which he did. The Viscount perceiving his Men were out of heart with several small Losses they had receiv'd, endeavour'd by using them to get the best in some little Skirmishes, to recover their Courage; all things being dispos'd, the Mareschals *de la Ferte* and *d' Hocquincourt* attack'd the Spanish Lines on the side of *Mouche le Prieux*, and the Viscount de *Turenne* those on the side of Mount *St. Eloy*. *La Ferte* and *d' Hocquincourt* lost their way through

through the Fault of their Guides, so that the heat of the Action was on the side of St. Eloy, where Monsieur de Turenne was in a fierce Engagement; the Spaniards to distress him the more, weaken'd the other side of their Camp, in so much, that when the Mareschals came and attack'd it, they presently enter'd and put all in Disorder: The Confusion soon spread, and the Spaniards, whatever the Prince of Conde cou'd do to the contrary, fled on all sides, he maintain'd the Combat some time, more with his Conduct than his Strength, and gave the Spaniards time to reach Doway, where he arriv'd himself after them, equally admir'd by his Friends and by his Enemies. Viscount de Turenne appear'd before Quesnoi, and the Governour immediately demanded to capitulate. He then gave part of the Army to the Mareschal de la Ferte, with which he besieg'd and took Cleremont, belonging to the Prince of Conde, on the Frontiers of Lorrain; the Viscount in the mean while observing the Prince, who strove in vain to relieve it. After this Conquest, Monsieur de Turenne return'd to Court, and was receiv'd by the King and Cardinal with particular Marks of Esteem and Friendship; yet the Cardinal forc'd him to ask for the Charge of Colonel-General of the Horse, vacant by the Death of the Duke de Joyeuse, and excus'd himself the giving of it when he ask'd it,

The Viscount, who, tho' he was not covetous of Employments, cou'd not bear to have any of the Cardinal's Creatures put over him, demanded it of the King, who gave it him. The next Campaign he again had the Command in Flanders, and threw a great Convoy into *Quesnoi*, which the Enemy had block'd up; having provided for that Place, he laid Siege to *Landreci* (which open'd a way to *Valenciennes*) and this Town he soon conquer'd. There were only *Conde* and *St. Guilain* which now remain'd to cover *Valenciennes*, and the Spaniards reinforc'd both Garrisons. The Mareschal de la Ferte was notwithstanding order'd to besiege *St. Guilain*, while the Viscount de Turenne march'd against *Conde*, which place he chose to besiege, as being the most honourable attempt. The Mareschal had begun the Siege of *St. Guilain*, but on the approach of the Enemy he return'd quickly to Monsieur de Turenne. The Spaniards made a shew to attack *Quesnoi*, in hopes to oblige the Viscount to raise the Siege of *Conde*, but he had so well provided the place for a long Defence, that he did not fear what they cou'd do; so pushing on the Siege of *Conde*, he master'd it, and then turn'd towards *St. Guilain*, resolv'd to try, if his Fortune was not better than the Mareschal de la Ferte's. He not only hinder'd the Spaniards from coming near him, but in a few Days made himself Master of that Place.

Place. He then block'd up *Valenciennes*, and had form'd the Siege had his Army weaken'd by the Garrisons drawn out of it, been strong enough. He found he was not in a Condition to attempt any thing more, and all that he cou'd do, was to observe the Enemy, who shew'd an inclination to attack *Quesnoy*: he encamp'd in their way, and having perfect knowledge of all their Designs, he prevented them all. Thus he every Year got ground in *Flanders* to the great Mortification of the Prince of *Conde*, who was not us'd to give way to his Enemy, till he had to do with the *Spaniards*. Nothing was done any where by the French King's Armies this Year in comparison to the Viscount de Turenne's Conquests in *Flanders*, and he was now esteem'd the first Man of the State, and the only Captain fit to oppose the Prince of *Conde*. In the Winter he was taken ill of a Feaver, and given over by his Physicians; the King sent his own to him, and twice a Day, or more, enquir'd of his Health; he made his Will, and was now so good a Christian, that when Madam de *Bouillon* wou'd have had some Romish Priests come about him, he desir'd he might die in quiet. Happy for him had this Sickness been his last, but he was to live and have another tryal, which in his Health he cou'd not withstand. He was no sooner well than he waited on the King, who told him, he cou'd not have thought whom

whom to have put in his place, if he had dy'd; and then he visited the Cardinal; his Eminence shew'd unusual Joy at his recovery, and express'd himself accordingly in his first Visit. The King wou'd have gone to see him in his Illness, had not the Queen-Mother prevented him, because of the Infection of the Air. The Year following, he was to return to *Flanders* to command the Army in conjunction with the Mareschal *de la Ferte*. This General was very unfit to be associated with Monsieur *de Turenne*, for besides that, he was jealous of the Viscount's Glory, he had beaten one of that Prince's Guards the last Campaign. Monsieur *de Turenne* instead of resenting it, as some other Generals, less moderate wou'd have done, sent him word, that if his Soldier had offended him, he shou'd not only be cashier'd, but he wou'd put him into his hands, to use him as he deserv'd. The Mareschal *de la Ferte* and the whole Army, admir'd the Viscount's Moderation in this Affair, yet after such an Accident, 'twas thought the Mareschal was not at all fit to share the Command of an Army with Monsieur *de Turenne*. The two Generals open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Va-lenciennes*, against whom the new Governour of the *Netherlands*, *Don John of Austria* and the Prince of *Conde* march'd with a good Army. Monsieur *de Turenne* having early Notice of their Designs, and that they wou'd attack

attack first the Mareschal *de la Ferte's* Quarters, offer'd him two thousand Men to assist him ; the Mareschal, who either despis'd the Advice he gave him, or wou'd not be oblig'd to him, only answer'd, that if himself wanted them, he had as many at his Service. The Viscount admir'd to hear such an answer, which he thought was a meer Rhodomontade, yet seeming not to understand it, he sent to him again to let him know, that if any thing new shou'd happen, which might change his Mind, he might freely have recourse to him. The Mareschal laugh'd at his Offers, but in three or four hours, repented of his Obstinacy, the Spaniards pouring in on his Quarters, and bearing all before them, enter'd his Camp, putting all things into such Disorder, that no body thought of defending the Works which were scarce finish'd, but fled to the Bridges that were over the Ditches between the two Quarters. The Enemy had let out their Sluces, which bore down the Bridges, and thus they had the Water before, and the Enemy behind. In this extremity, they threw down their Arms, and put themselves on the Mercy of the Conquerors, who took a vast Number of Prisoners. A few Bridges remain'd still, and over these they crowded so thick, that they broke them down ; the Viscount advanc'd to receive those that were fled, but fearing the Enemy might also make use of the

the Bridges, he order'd them to be broken down, this gave time for the Baggage to draw off, and he himself follow'd in the Road to *Quesnoi*. He stop'd by the way to see if any of those that fled came in to him; the Number of the sav'd were very few, the *Mareschal de la Ferte* and four thousand Men were made Prisoners. The Court believ'd all was lost ont his News, but the Cardinal sent a Reinforcement to the Viscount *de Turenne*, who seeing the Enemy was busy'd in the Siege of St. *Guilain*, took *La Chapelle*, to put his Troops in heart with this Action, after their late Defeat. The Cardinal rejoyc'd to find the Spaniards improve their Victory so little, who contented themselves with taking St. *Guilain*. Monsieur *de Turenne* being in a Condition to meet the Enemy, and far from fearing them, offer'd them Battel, which *Don John* avoided. The Cardinal saw his Error too late, and promis'd the Viscount he shou'd command alone, being pleas'd with him for withdrawing the Counts *de Duras* and *de Lorges* his Nephews from the Prince of *Conde's* Interest, to which they had hitherto been faithful. In 1657, the next Enterprise the Viscount undertook, was the Siege of *Cambray*, a place of great Importance, the Garrison making frequent Incursions into *Picardy*. *Mazarine* had had a Conference with Monsieur *de Turenne* about it, the Attempt being bold; but as the Viscount told him

him, not Impossible. The Garrison was numerous, and the Fortifications strong and in repair. He parted for the Frontier, made a feint on other places of less Consequence, and then turn'd his Attack on *Cambray*; the Governour was surpriz'd at his approach, but not discourag'd; he gave notice to the Governour of *Mons* to send him what Assistance he cou'd before the Enemies Works were finish'd; the Messenger he sent, happen'd to meet the Prince of *Conde* by the way, at a place he had appointed for the rendezvous of his Cavalry, which he was there to review. The Officer informs the Prince of his Message, he little expected such News, yet resolv'd on an attempt worthy his Character and invincible Courage. After the review, he march'd immediately without staying for Equipage or Provisions, no body knew whither, and none suspected it till Night, when he demanded a Guide at a Village, where they learnt that *Cambray* was besieg'd, which he before kept a Secret. The Guide led him out of the Road thro' a Wood, where the Cavalry was forc'd to light, and march with their Horses in their Hands, till they found the way; he arriv'd in a Plain and drew up his Men; 'twas very dark, and his March undiscover'd. The Lines not being finish'd, he enter'd the French Camp meeting no Opposition, but he cou'd not approach to the Town without making

some Noise, which the Guard hearing, they march'd immediately to the place whence it came, and fell on the Squadron where he was in Person. Being very well mounted, he made his way thro' them, leaving only a few of his Men and Domesticks behind him Prisoners, and soon came up with some Squadrons that had happily past the Camp. The Viscount *de Turenne* was on Horse-back to put his Men in order, by that time the Governour had open'd the Gates to the Prince of *Conde*, who, to the extraordinary Joy of the Garrison, enter'd the City with his Cavalry. The Cannon firing on his reception, inform'd the Besiegers they had best remove before they were forc'd to it. The Cardinal was very sorry at this disappointment, yet to shew he did not think the Viscount in fault, he publish'd an Account of the Accidents which occasion'd it. The Mareschal *de la Ferte*'s Ransom being paid, he was set at Liberty, and order'd with a Body of Troops to besiege *Montmedy* in *Luxemburg*; the Spaniards advanc'd over the *Maese* to oppose him, and *de Turenne* observ'd them; the Mareschal carry'd on the Siege, the Viscount follow'd them so close, they found they cou'd not prevent the loss of the place without a Battel, which they did not care to hazard, so they sent Part of their Army back over the *Maese*, who joining with four thousand Men of the Garrison

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Turenne kept a friendly Correspondence with Cromwel, and the Marques of Montpellian now going for *England* to recover his Wife's Fortune, being Heiress of Sir *Theod. Mayhern*, the Viscount recommended him to Oliver, who favour'd him in his Law Suit. Cromwell thought it his Interest to assist the *French* in this Siege, which he did on Condition the Town shou'd be put into the Hands of the *English*, if 'twas taken: and whatever has been said against his Alliance with *France*, the purchase of that Town was such a Security for the *English* Commerce, that he wou'd never have been blam'd, had it not been basely given back to the *French* afterwards. In 1658. Monsieur de Turenne march'd towards the place by the Road of *Bulloign*, while the *English* distrest it by Sea. *Cassel*, a small Garrison, he reduc'd in a Day's time, and then sate down before *Dunkirk*. He had scarce finish'd his Lines before *Don John* and the Prince of *Conde* appear'd, the Mareschal *d' Hocquincourt* disgusted with the Cardinal, had taken the Party of the Prince of *Conde*, and to distinguish himself with his new Friends, demanded of *Don John* to view the *French* Lines, in which Enterprize he must needs do something extraordinarily to shew his Courage, and was kill'd, regretted by few of one side or the other. The Spaniards advanc'd and offer'd Battel, the Viscount, who fore-saw their Design, had drawn the best part of his Troops

Troops out of his Lines, and left the rest to guard the Trenches : The besiegers at the same time made a vigorous Salley, yet the French defended their Ground, and the Fight was a long while equal on both sides. The two Armies were immediately engag'd with different Success ; the Enemies Wings were soon routed, and whatever the Prince of Conde cou'd do to rally them, he cou'd not effect it. *Bouteville*, afterwards Duke of Luxemburg, was taken in this Battel, fighting by the Prince of Conde's side, whose Party he always took. *Dunkirk* held out a few Days after this Battel, and then surrendered ; *Bergues*, *Furnes*, *Dixmuyde*, *Gravelines*, *Melin*, *Oudenard* and *Ipres*, were also his Conquests this Campaign. He sent part of his Army to suppress an Insurrection in Normandy, favour'd by Count *de Crequi Bernieulle*. The French King was now taken ill of a Feaver, and given over by his Physicians, yet at last cur'd by a Quack of *Abbeville*. The King on his recovery made the Duke of *Bouillon* the Viscount's Nephew Great Chamberlain ; his Uncle went to *Paris* to thank his Majesty for his Goodness to his Family. Peace was soon after concluded between *Spain* and *France*, 1659, and the King marry'd the Infanta of *Spain* to confirm it, *de Turenne* began now to exercise his Office of Colonel-General of the Cavalry, and as such, provided for the Officers of his

Regiment, which was to be broken on the Peace. In 1660. he attended the King in his Journey to meet the *Infanta*. Lewis XIV. created in his Favour the Office of Mareschal-General of his Camps and Armies, telling him, when he gave him his Commission, he wish'd he wou'd put himself in a Condition to have more done for him. The King meant that he wou'd change his Religion, and have the Constable's Sword, and the Mareschal-General understood his Master's meaning so well, that he presently consulted the Fathers of the Order of the *Celestines*, and also a Father of the *Oratory*, who having satisfy'd his Scruples, he abjur'd the Protestant Faith in presence of the Arch-bishop of Paris, the Court, and an infinite Number of People. He is said to have persuaded the Duke *de Duras* and Count *de Lorge* to follow his Example. But the first being soon after made Mareschal, Duke, and Peer of France, and the latter Mareschal of France, and both Captains of the King's Guards, we guess what were the Reasons of their Conversions and who next to the great Seducer of Mankind, was the Person that seduc'd them. The Viscount after his Abjuration and *Mazarine's* Death, had the King's Ear, and procur'd advancement for all his Creatures. His Family too thriv'd by his Apostacy. His Nephew, since Cardinal *de Bajillon* was made Great Almoner, and the Marquess *de Louvois* succeeding

succeeding Mazarine in the Ministry, Monsieur de Turenne contracted a short Friendship with him. For five Years that he liv'd in quiet at Paris, he was putting the King off from engaging in a new War as much as in him lay, that the People might have time to recover their Payments and Taxes in the last long War. The King admir'd at the Greatness of his Soul, who renounc'd his private Interest for the good of the Publick. Colbert being put in Fouquet's place, was for making his Master rich, and saving Money; Louvois knew War wou'd be his Harvest, so he did not approv'e of the Viscount's nor Colbert's Counsels, and this by degrees made him hate them both. Madam de Turenne dy'd during this time of ease, whom the Viscount lov'd passionately, though she never brought him any Children, he was extreamly troubled at his Loss, and now his only Comfort was the Prosperity of his Family. His Nephew the Duke of Bouillon had several Children by Mazarine's Niece; the Count d' Auvergne, the Duke's Brother, marry'd the Heiress of the House of Bergues, whose Fortune was forty thousand Crowns a Year. Such was his private Condition and his Family's, when the King by the persuasion of Louvois, resolv'd to begin the War in Flanders. The Pretence was, that part of those Provinces belong'd to the Queen, tho' he had renounc'd by Oath all Pretensions to

the Successions she might claim from her Brother the King of Spain, or to the Crown, in case he dy'd without Issue. But we do not name this as a thing extraordinary, for the French King to break Treaties, or violate his Oaths, we only hint at the Cause of the Rupture, just or unjust, that the Reader may have the greater Light in the following Part of this History. In 1667. the King took the Field himself, at the Head of thirty five thousand Men, under whom Monsieur de Turenne was General, who us'd to say, *Dieu aidoit les gros Squadrons*, Heaven is a Friend to a great Army. Two other Armies were commanded by the Mareschal d'Aumont, and the Marques of Crequi. The Spaniards being secure, as they thought, in the late Treaty, were unprovided, and Lewis XIV. took as many Towns as he pleas'd, most of them surrender'd without a Blow, and we are the more ready to believe the Relation true, because they were taken by this Monarch, who has always been careful to be safe, before he left *Versailles*, and to besiege no Town in vain. Lisle was the first place that made any Resistance, and the Governour, tho' brave, seeing there was no hope of Relief, capitulated also. The King thinking he had done enough, went to meet the Queen at Arras, while the Mareschal-General besieg'd Alost. The Monarch, it seems, did not think fit to expose his Person,

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son, when Count Marfin at the Head of the Spanish Troops took the Field, and yet the Count had not a quarter Part of one of his Armies with him. The Viscount de Turenne reduc'd Aloft, but had like to have been taken going from the Camp to Courtray; he was attack'd by an Ambuscade in a Wood; the Party was much greater than the French, and he had certainly been either kill'd or taken, had he not thought of a Stratagem: he order'd some Trumpets belonging to Persons of Quality in his Company to advance and sound a Charge, and the Enemy believing they were follow'd by a great Body of Horse, made off, and gave the Viscount an opportunity to escape the Danger he was in. Thus finish'd this Campaign, which we expect will make a formidable Figure in Monsieur Boileau's Life of Lewis XIV. Louvois was grown more jealous of the Viscount's Favour with the King, with whom Monsieur de Turenne wou'd be sometimes lock'd up for four or five Hours, while the Minister waited at the Closet-door; this made him think of every way imaginable to lessen his Reputation; he first advis'd the King to give the Command of his Armies to the Prince of Conde, whom Louvois courted and intended to oppose to the Viscount de Turenne. In 1668. the Prince of Conde immediately over-ran the Franche Comté, and the King was to keep it by the New Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

However,

However, the Viscount still continu'd in his good Graces to the Mortification of Louvois. There was at this time a Person, who was the Instrument of arming some Foreign Princes against France, and him the French King, whose darling Passion is Revenge, was resolv'd to seize, he was a Protestant, and King Lewis desir'd Monsieur de Turenne to recommend two trusty Soldiers to him, which he did, and he sent them into Switzerland to take this Gentleman, whom they seiz'd on the Mountains and brought into France, where he was hang'd at the Gate of Chatelet in Paris. While the Prince of Conde liv'd retir'd at Chantilli, the Mareschal-General liv'd quietly in Paris, always contriving by his share in the King's Favour to procure Advancement for his Servants and Soldiers; the Government of Courtray he got for the Captain of his Guards, and that of Villa-Francha for the Lieutenant-Colonel of his Regiment of Foot, *Fifca*, a Soldier of Fortune; he lov'd this Man, and hearing he had got Money by Gaming, advis'd him to provide with it for the worst, and buy a Place in the Guards. *Fifca* was convinc'd by his Reasons to make such a Provision, and pray'd the Viscount to treat with the Persons concern'd for him. Monsieur de Turenne engag'd to do it, but the Duke de Crequi, who look'd on that Man's Money as his own, comes to him in the mean while and carries away

away the Pistoles which shou'd have paid for the Place. The Viscount try'd all ways to convert the Count *de Roye* his Nephew, but this worthy Gentleman cou'd not be debauch'd from the Truth, by Promises of the Baton, tho' his Brethren the Duke *de Duras* and the Count *de Lorges* had been tempted by it. Monsieur *de Turenne's* Reputation as a Soldier was now flourishing over *Europe*, and the King in his Closet, us'd to learn of him the Art of War, or at his Camps in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, where his Master presented him with a fine House. Foreign Ambassadors usually visited him, and one of them said, He was as much above the Prince of *Conde* for an Action that requir'd time and thought, as the Prince of *Conde* was above him for one that was short and violent. 'Twas now the time that *Lewis XIV.* thought *Europe* was lull'd asleep by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and as he ever had enlarr'd his Conquests by this means, that he might now surprize Towns and Provinces in the midst of a profound Peace, so he fell upon the *Dutch* with an Army of a hundred and forty thousand Men, in 1672. the Dutchess of *Orleans*, as the French Author says, having engag'd her Brother King *Charles II.* in the Visit at *Dover*, to assist *Lewis XIV.* in his Enterprize. The French King's ground for War, was Medals and Pictures sold in *Holland*, offensive to his spotless

less Reputation, one of them was the Picture of Monsieur Van Beuningen the Dutch Ambassador, whose Name was Joshua, alluding to that Captain of *Israel*, and round it this Inscription, *In conspectu meo stetit Sol*, the French King having proudly affected to have the Sun for his Device. The King himself march'd towards the Frontiers, pretending to view the maritim Towns on that side; and he might safely take the Field; for his Enemies were in their Shops and Ships industriously following their Commerce, secure, as they thought, in his Oaths and Treaties; and he might exercise his Conduct and Courage on Towns and Provinces, without the least danger of Opposition. *Cologn* and *Liege* were betray'd to him by their Bishops, as in the present War. His Troops were quarter'd in those two Diocesses, and ready to enter *Gaelderland*, and the Bishop of *Munster* to fall upon *Over-Issel*. The King in this War declar'd to the Mareschals of France, that he wou'd have Monsieur *de Turenne* exercise his Post of Mareschal-General of his Camps and Armies, and that they obey him, which was to content his new Convert for the Constable's Sword, the Condition of his Conversion. The Prince of *Conde* march'd with an Army towards the *Maese*, and *de Turenne* was order'd to be near the King's Person who took the Road of *Picardy*. This was the King's second Campaign, and much like

like that of *Lille*, his first in 1667. which we have given some account of before. The Viscount did his utmost to make a Soldier of him, he told him, he must be indefatigable himself, if he wou'd have his Men so; but a Hero like a Poet, *Non fit sed nascitur*. The French King in his March thro' the Spanish Provinces in the Netherlands, committed so many Acts of Hostility without Declaration of War with Spain, that Count Monterey the Governour, held a Conference with the Prince of Orange, declar'd Generalissimo of the Dutch Forces by Sea and Land, and, tho' somewhat too late, came into the Confederacy against Lewis XIV. The Emperor and the Elector of Brandenburg were enter'd into it before, and if England had then joyn'd with those Princes, the Monarch had not now been in a Condition to disturb the Peace of Europe. We are not to write of this War at large, and shall only shew what share Monsieur de Turenne had in it. The French before their Armies divided, enter'd Mazeick. The Prince of Conde afterwards besieg'd Orsoy in the Dutchy of Cleves, which immediately open'd its Gates to him; Wesel to the King, and Burik to the Mareschal-General, who joyn'd the King when he enter'd Rhinberg. Rees surrender'd to the Prince of Conde, then Emmerick follow'd, then Deudekom. Mombas a creature of De Wits, abandon'd the Passage of

of the *Rhine* to the Prince of *Conde*, for which he was arrested, and the Governor of *Rhinberg*, for delivering that Town, beheaded. The Prince of *Orange* sent other Forces to oppose the Prince of *Conde's* Passage, who made a brave Resistance, the French King saw the Dispute on the farther side of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Longueville*, *Conde's* Nephew was kill'd, and the Prince himself wounded. The greatest part of these Dutch Forces were kill'd, and the rest, over-power'd, forc'd to fly. The King himself was on a rising Ground out of danger, to whom *Doesburg* on the *Issel* soon after surrendered, and the Viscount *de Tarenne* was order'd to command the Army instead of the Prince of *Conde*, disabled by his Wounds. *Nimeguen* made a small Resistance, but the Mareschal-General oblig'd that Town to do like the rest a few Days after the Trenches were open'd; he seiz'd also all the Towns on the *Wahel* and *Issel*, and might have master'd as many more, had they been there; for he need only send an Officer to demand the Keys, and they were presently sent him. This was very surprizing to the French King, (if we may believe the French Authors) tho' the rest of the World did not wonder at his Success, when 'tis said he brought with him forty Millions of Livres to traffick with the Merchant-Governours, whom the Faction of *De Wit* had set over the Towns. *Utrecht*

very civilly order'd their principal Burghers to wait on his Majesty in his Camp, and desire he wou'd please to accept of their City among his other glorious Conquests, having in this Campaign already put forty Towns under his Obedience. *Turenne*, whether he had not yet lost all his *Hugonot* Principles, and pity'd the Misery of this Protestant Republick, or whether he thought *Lewis XIV.* had now best to make use of his Fortune, in imposing what Conditions of Peace on the *Dutch* he pleas'd, advis'd the King to it, and the Prince of *Conde* did the same. They knew their Monarch had so weaken'd his Army by Garrifoning the conquer'd Towns, that he cou'd not long keep the Field nor his Conquests. But his Majesty dazled with the Lustre of his Fortune, scorn'd their Counsel, and hearken'd only to *Louvois*, who still urg'd him on to new Glory, as he call'd it. The Faction of *De Wit*, to ruin the Party of the Prince of *Orange*, sent Ambassadors to treat of Peace at the King's Camp. The Conditions were too severe: the Town of *Amsterdam* joyn'd with the Prince of *Orange*'s Friends, in opposing a Treaty on those hard Terms, which neither secur'd their Liberty nor their Religion. The Death of the *De Wits*, and the Prince's being restor'd to his Fathers Governments, gave a new Face to the *Dutch* Affairs, and no sooner

no sooner had the news reach'd the Conqueror at his Camp near *Utrecht*, than he retir'd first towards *Bois le Duc*, and from thence to *Paris*: for the Prince of Orange began to recover some of the lost Places, and to put the People in Heart; so that his Majesty, like a good Politician, thought he ought not to stay to be the Witness of his Losses, nor venture his Sacred Person longer. The Duke of *Luxemburg* he left at *Utrecht*, as a fit Instrument to destroy, if he cou'd not keep the City, and the Country round it. *Bois le Duc* was to have been taken in as he return'd home. The French confess his Majesty had Intelligence in the Town; yet the Governor not delivering it up as was expected: after the King had waited near three weeks, he said the Roads wou'd be bad if he staid, and so he went to *Versailles*. The Emperor declar'd for the *Dutch*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* with twenty five thousand Men was marching to their Assistance; against whom the King sent the Viscount *de Turenne*; who, though he had but twelve thousand Men with him, past the *Rhine* near *Wesel*; but the Marques of *Rivel*, and the *Munsterians* joyning his Army, they oblig'd the Elector of *Brandenburg* to retire over the *Weser*, leaving Garrisons in the Places on that River, which the Mareschal General reduc'd, and past the River in pursuit of him. The Elector wou'd have fought

fought him, had he not been dissuaded by his Council of War ; who represented the Inconveniences of fighting ; when, if he shou'd be unfortunate, his Country woud be so much expos'd to a cruel Enemy. The Viscount hasten'd after him, while he thought he might bring him to a Combat, and when he despair'd of that, he abandon'd his Territories to Pillage, and halted to refresh his Army, fatigu'd by a hasty March. The Dutch in hopes of a Diversion by the Troops of Brandenburg , besieg'd Woerden, and were now forc'd to raise the Siege. The Mareschal General can never be excus'd for the horrid Wast he made in the Territories of this Elector, though his Relation ; and all that can be said in his defence is, that 'tis Natural to his Nation to spoil and to destroy, and that with all their pretended Politeness, they still retain the Barbarity of their original Gauls, in their Cruelty to the Vanquish'd. When he had desolated the Country, the King recall'd him. His Electoral Highness inclining to peace, the quickest Remedy he cou'd bring to the Distempers of his State ; during the Negotiation, the Elector's Minister desir'd the Viscount to order his Troops to live a little more Discipline, who haughtily answer'd he was in an Enemies Country, and had orders to use the utmost rigour. That he had the honour to be related to the

Elector by his Alliance with the House of Orange, and shou'd be glad to serve him in any thing else ; but as to his Country and his Subjects, he must execute his Orders to the extremity. So soon had the Viscount *de Turenne* learnt the Principles of the *Romish* Church, and so well he already practis'd them. The Emperor now was the only Prince on whom the *Dutch* cou'd rely, having hitherto been with-held by his first Minister of State, whom the *French* acknowleg'd to be their Monarchs Pensioner. His *Imperial* Majesty was resolv'd powerfully to assist them. The People of *France*, through the burthen of their late Taxes were ready to revolt ; and if they had not been fond of Slavery, had certainly taken hold of this opportunity to recover their Liberty, having never been opprest so much as by *Lewis XIV.* nor by him more than in this War. He now repented that he adher'd to *Louvois*'s advice. For the *English* grew weary of such an Ally, and he knew that he durst not appear at Sea. The *Imperial* Army was coming down to the *Rhine*, and the King in a Conference with the Viscount, told him he must send him to observe the *Imperialists*, while he besieg'd *Maestricht*, 1673. There being time enough he staid a while at *Paris*, living very modestly and privately, seldom having above two Footmen attending on him, and always going in Black. He was a constant Hearer of *Pere Bourdeloue*, and often

often in Confession with the Father of the Oratory, who Converted him after the King had, as has been said, given him hopes of the Constables Sword. He advis'd his Majesty again to save the effusion of so much Christian blood, and to live in Peace, contrary to the Counsels of Louvois : the Viscount being the more earnest with him, because he desir'd to retire from the World, and repent his having liv'd so long in Heresie (so say the Catholick Historians.) The truth is he was Old and Experienc'd, and willing to save his Master the Confusion of losing his Conquests faster than he got them. However, finding he cou'd make no impression on his Majesty's mind, he parted for Germany, where he got an Army together in Alsace, which he led towards the Rhine. He prevail'd by fair means on some Towns to receive French Garisons, tho Strasburg then refus'd to Treat with him. The King himself went again into Flanders, and was present at the Siege of Maestricht, where the French behav'd themselves bravely in the Attack of the Half Moon, on which the taking of the Town depended. The besiegers retook it, and the Duke of Monmouth, with the English Auxiliaries, took it a second time for the French. This and some divisions between the Garrison and the Governor, hasten'd the loss of that Important Place. After this Conquest the King

went to *Alface*, where Viscount de Turenne wrote him word his Presence was necessary to ingage *Strasburg* to a Neutrality, which part by Threats, and part by Money he effected. The Marquess of *Rochefort* then sieg'd *Treves*, and the Diet at *Ratisbonne* declar'd War with *France*, whereby the Elector of *Brandenburg* was again engag'd to send Succour to the Bishop of *Treves*, whose chief City the *French* King took for no other reason than that 'twas for his convenience, as he said himself. *Dupas* Governor of *Naerden* deliver'd the Town to the Prince of *Orange* during these Transactions in *Germany*: whom, because he was the Viscounts Creature, *Louvois* order'd to be prosecuted. After *Naerden*, the Conqueror abandon'd all the Places Conquer'd the last Campaign, except *Grave*, taken next year by the Prince of *Orange*. The Duke of *Luxemburg* was order'd to receive the Garisons. This Duke had signaliz'd himself at the raising the Siege of *Woerden*; and afterwards he took *Bodegrave*, *Swammerdam*, and *Nierbruck*, whose Barbarities in those Towns, and every where as he past through the Country are incredible: A greater Monster never headed an Army: we shall only report the very words of an Historian, a *Frenchman*, and a *Roman Catholick*, speaking of his Success at *Woerden*, *Swammordam*, &c. 'His Victories were sul- ly'd by his Cruelties, which will make his

name

' name odious to Posterity. He took delight  
' on this Occasion to see the blood of Per-  
' sons of both Sexes spilt, and to behold the  
' Soldiers, that from their Swords points flung  
' Infants up into the Air. The Prince of  
Orange had surrounded this Barbarian, and  
had certainly Cut him off, and the Garisons  
which came to his Army from the Towns  
abandon'd, had not the French King sent his  
whole Strength to bring him off, which  
oblig'd the Prince to retire, and join the Imperialists under Montecuculi, before whom  
the Mareschal General fled, not daring to  
hazard a Battle. The Prince of Orange besieg'd and took Bonne. Viscount de Turenne  
not being able to relieve it : he however  
threw Succours into Philipsburg, and by  
that means kept the Elector Palatine Neuter.  
The King of England, after the taking of  
Bonne, concluded a Peace with the Dutch,  
for which his People were very pressing. The  
French King was now straitned on all  
sides, and saw his Realm impoverish'd, his  
Provinces depopulated, and his Subjects  
beggar'd for the Conquest of Maestricht,  
which was only left him. In 1674. the Duke  
of Lorrain, at the Head of the Imperialists,  
intended to open the Campaign with an  
attempt to enter France through the Pro-  
vince of Burgundy ; which when the King  
understood, he resolv'd to hinder him by  
Conquering that Province, nor need he fear

succeeding, it having been before sold to him by the Abbot of St. Gall, who was employ'd by the Spaniards to manage their Interests with the Swiss-Cantons, Protectors of that Province, and who receiving a better Pension from the French King, betray'd all the Spanish Counsels to him.<sup>10</sup> This was a greate Blow to the Confederates, and soon effected. *Turenne* was to watch the Duke of *Lorrain* while the Army enter'd Burgundy by the *Franche-Comté*. The Confederates had now no way to carry on the War but in *Germany* and *Flanders*; so the French King order'd the Prince of *Condé* to command with a numerous Army in *Flanders*, and the Mareschals de *Creqni* and *Humiers* were order'd to joyn Monsieur de *Turenne* in *Germany* with a less; these Generals refusing to obey the Viscount were banish'd, and afterwards recall'd on their promise of Submission. Monsieur de *Turenne* was too weak to fight the *Germans*, who march'd against him under the Duke of *Lorrain*, so the King order'd him to quit *Alsace*, and only cover *Lorrain*. This Order surpriz'd the Marechal-General, who believing 'twas the Council of his Enemies, dispatch'd a Courier to the King, to let him know he cou'd protect *Lorrain*, and not leave *Alsace*.<sup>10</sup> His Majesty was pleas'd with this Advice, and permitted him to do as he thought fit, tho' *Louvois* persuad'd him to the contrary. The Viscount's

count's Army trusted on their General so much, that they never consider'd the Number of the Enemy. His Soldiers slept quietly in their Tents, knowing he was always wakeful and watchful, lest any ill shou'd happen to them. They fear'd nothing for themselves, for him they were continually in fear; if they did not see him all the Day, they wou'd run at Night to his Tent, to know how he did; and his Love to them was reciprocal; he manag'd his little Army so well, that the *Imperialists* cou'd not trouble him, nor cou'd he be more quiet, had he been Master of the Field. He rejoyc'd to see Plenty in his Army, and often contributed towards it out of his own Stock. He never advanc'd any one through Favour, but for the Service of his Master. The Enemy knowing how the Soldiers lov'd him, dreading him more than the other Generals, considering also his Capacity and Experience. The King hearing what great Armies were in the Field under the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Bourbonville*, again order'd him to leave *Alsace* and look after *Lorrain*, and the Viscount again desir'd he might keep his Post, which was granted him as before; while the Armies observ'd one another in *Germany*, the Prince of *Orange* obtain'd the famous Victory at the Battel of *Seneffe*. The Viscount de Turenne's Army was reinforc'd with part of the Prince of *Conde's* after that Battel.

and he was now in a Condition to Encoun-  
ter the Duke of *Lorrain*; he gave out that  
he design'd to take a review of his Army,  
that the Duke might not retire when he  
heard they were drawn out of their Quar-  
ters; he then took the way to the *Rhine*,  
where a Bridge was laying near *Philipburg*.  
The Duke of *Lorrain* was inform'd of his  
Intentions, and immediately retir'd to the  
*Neckar*; the Viscount march'd after from  
Morning till Night, taking in several small  
Places as he went. At *Sintzheim* he got up  
with the *Imperialists*, and had a Skirmish,  
and both sides claim the Advantage. Ha-  
milton's English Regiment began the Com-  
bat, the left Wing of the *French* was routed,  
and the left Wing of the *Imperialists* far'd  
as ill, but the *French* rallying, and the *Lor-  
rainers* which compos'd the left Wing  
of the German Army not returning to the  
Combat, the *Imperialists* began to retreat.  
The Viscount de *Turenne* did not at first per-  
ceive it for the Dust, and afterwards did not  
pursue them too boldly, having already ex-  
perienc'd their Valour, which gave them time  
to gain a Wood, thence they descended in-  
to a Plain, then cross'd another Wood, and  
afterwards past the *Neckar* at *Hailtron* and  
*Weimpheim*. Monsieur de *Turenne* not being  
over-fond to follow them, yet he pass'd thro'  
the first Wood, and seeing there was ano-  
ther, he thought proper to stop, and having  
spread

spread the Terror of his Arms as far as Heidelberg, he gave his Army time to rest and refresh. He liv'd at discretion in the Elector Palatine's Country, and repast the Rhine to disabuse the People, who were inform'd he had been compell'd to retire. The Enemy at his approach retreated over the Neckar and the Main, the Elector Palatine being not able to persuade them to a Combat, left Heidelberg, fearing a Siege, which the Viscount durst not attempt, for the Elector of Brandenburg was on the march with thirty thousand Men, and the Dukes of Brunswick follow'd, so he fear'd to be enclos'd if he pur-sud the Imperialists farther, and to be attack'd if he form'd a Siege. In revenge for the Elector Palatine's declaring, as he was in Duty bound to do, for the Emperor, the new Convert committed abominable Spoil in his Territories, Robbing, Burning and Ra-vaging whereever he came. The Elector was so enrag'd, he sent him a Challenge, which the French King wou'd not suffer him to answer. We cannot omit reflecting on Monsieur de Turenne's Ingratitude to this Family, who had protected his, and to which the House of Bouillon owe all their Greatness, as the Elector tells him in his Letter. This the Marechal-General offers to evade with a miserable excuse, as if he cou'd not have prevented it, and that the destruction of the Palatinate must only be look'd on as the Fortune

Fortune of War. The Confederates forc'd him to cross the *Rhine*, and encamp at *Weinheim* near *Landau*. The Marques of *Louvois* now represented to the King in what danger the State was, by confiding too much in the Viscount's Conduct. The Germans having past the *Rhine* almost in his presence, the King sends a third time positive Orders for him to abandon *Alsace*, and only guard *Lorraine*. In answer, he sends a Letter for the King, to the Cardinal *de Bouillon*, 'Complain-ing of *Louvois*, who pretended to understand the Busines of War better than the Generals of his Majesty's Armies, that had spent their whole Lives in the Field, and can better judge what's most convenient than he in his Closet over a Map, that he wou'd rather not serve than receive such Orders opposite to his Majesty's Service, and injurious to his Honour. The King, tho' he was of *Louvois*'s Opinion, yet he permitted him a third time to do as he pleas'd. The Enemy was resolv'd to attack him, seeing he staid still in his Camp; they manag'd their Cause so well at *Strasburg*, that the Town seem'd inclin'd to give them Passage over their Bridge. *Turenne* sent to demand Hostages of them for their Fidelity to observe the Neutrality; while the Magistrates were deliberating what to do, the Enemy repast the *Rhine* near *Spire* on a moveable Bridge; this Motion favouring as well their attacking

ing *Philipsburg* as their approaching *Straßburg*, the Viscount did not yet think 'twas time to retire; he sent the Marquess of *Vaubrun* Lieutenant-General to attack the Bridge of *Straßburg*, and to destroy it, if he cou'd not master it, but to do neither, unless he had News that the People of the Town had some ill Design. *Vaubrun* sent a Trumpet to the Magistrates, and receiving no satisfactory Answer, he attack'd a Redoubt which defended the Bridge, the Enemy approaching at the same time were permitted to pass, and *Vaubrun* retreated, and Monsieur *de Turenne* proclaim'd War with that Republick. Seeing he must abandon *Alsace* or fight, he chose rather the last, especially, because the Elector of *Brandenburg* had not yet joyn'd the Imperial Army. He march'd from *Lavantzau*, where he was encamp'd, to *Molsheim*, where he staid to discover the Enemy's Quarters, which were at *Eusheim*. The Fight began by the Chevalier *du Boufflers* with the French Dragoons, who attack'd some Imperial Foot posted in a Wood to the right of the French Army, he drove the Germans from their Post, took their Cannon, which the Duke of *Lorrain* march'd with his left Wing to retake, and the Viscount *de Turenne* oppos'd him with the French right Wing; then the German right Wing flank'd the left Wing of the French, the Body of reserve came to the assistance of the left Wing, but were both

both put into disorder by the *Imperialists*, and had not some Battalions advanc'd in good time to oppose the *Germans*, the Wing had been entirely routed; the Horse now rally'd, and the Combat was renew'd, which lasted till Night; the Viscount was in the thickest of the Fight, and had his Horse kill'd under him; Night parted them, and the advanc'd Guard of the *Brandenburgers* appearing a Day's Journey from the *German* Army, the Viscount feigning that he cou'd not preserve *Alsace*, abandon'd part, and fortify'd *Saverne* and *Haguenau*. He wrote to the King, that he did it only to make the *Germans* the more secure, and to spread their Quarters that he might afterwards fall on them, when they least expected him. The Enemy offer'd to besiege *Saverne* and *Haguenau*, he observ'd them narrowly, and hinder'd all their Designs till they went into Winter-Quarters: And he seem'd to do the same in *Lorrain*, where he permitted his Soldiers to commit all manner of Mischief, and to do what they pleas'd, so much, that the *French* Intendant complain'd of them; but he wou'd please his Men, who had been miserably harrass'd the last Campaign, and were to undergo new Fatigues before they winter'd. The Enemies propos'd divers Sieges; the Duke of *Lorrain* wou'd enter his Country; the different Sentiments of so many Generals, hinder'd their doing any thing for the Publick Good.

Good. The Duke of *Lorrain* advanc'd as far as *Ramiremont* and *Espinal*, which he pretended to fortifie; but his Men retreated as soon as they heard Monsieur *de Turenne* march'd against them, and retiring to the neighbouring Garrisons alarm'd their Quarters, which being distant one from the other, the Viscount pass'd by *Belfort*, and extend'd himself in the Plain, where he took Castles and Prisoners in abundance, all fled before him, no body knowing whither he bent his March; every one was surpriz'd. The Generals, inform'd by those that fled, that the Viscount was coming against them, past the River *d' Ill*, gather'd the Garrisons about it together and resolv'd to oppose his Passage, while the main of the Army assembled near *Colemar*, Monsieur *de Turenne* knew Expedition was his Business, so he hasten'd to force the Passage; he order'd his Cavalry to fall on those that defended it, who made a brave Defence till other Horse forded the River, and the *Germans* fearing to be environ'd retir'd, and had not time to withdraw several Garrisons on the Road of *Colemar*, which were to march to the Rendezvous near that place. The Viscount took them, pursu'd those that fled, and fear increasing among all, they were in great Danger; however, they drew up in Battalia near *Turquem*, which place the Governor abandon'd; the Enemy wou'd have retaken it, but

but 'twas too late; a Canal divideth the two Armies, or they wou'd here have engag'd; Night coming on, both Armies dispos'd themselves for the Combat the next Day. Monsieur de Turenne slept on his Cloak, and left the Care of every thing to the Count de Lorges, and the Marquess de Vaubrun; an hour after, the Count acquainted him the Enemy decamp'd, he desir'd no more: 'Tis enough, he answer'd the Count, let them go. The Viscount then drove our all the Garrisons they had in Alsace which they left in this their precipitate retreat. The Duke of Lorrain confess'd this Action of the Viscount's to be the most Glorious of his time. The Town of Strasburg sent to Monsieur de Turenne for Peace, who haughtily bid them go beg the King's Mercy. He thus finish'd the Campaign, and crown'd with Laurels, return'd to Court, where he was receiv'd as the Preserver of the State. He complain'd to the King of the Marquess de Louvois, and desir'd he might have no more Orders go through his Hands, which his Majesty consented to, promising he wou'd receive and send them all by the Cardinal de Bouillon. The King also commanded Louvois to wait on the Marechal-General and beg his Friendship, which he durst not dispute; the Viscount told him, he gave it him only on Condition that he shou'd by his future Carriage convince him that he desir'd it: this Action

was not the least shining of his Life, since he thus humbled a Minister who made the whole Court bend before him. He continu'd to be desirous of Peace, which was now negotiating at Nimeguen; he went seldom to Court, the King took notice of it, and ask'd him if he had any Reason of Discontent, he thank'd his Majesty for his Favours, and assur'd him, 'twas only on account of his Soul's Health, that he avoided as much as possible to engage himself in the things of this World; yet the Emperor refusing a Cessation of Arms, he must again go into Germany, from whence he is never to return alive. Montecuculi commanded the Imperialists this Campaign. The Enemy past the Rhine at Spire as the last Year, but for want of Provisions were oblig'd to repass it. The Viscount fearing the Town of Strasburg might favour the Enemies, resolv'd himself to follow them. Having prepar'd a Bridge in a place encompast with Hills and Woods, the Army past that River, and seiz'd Wilstet. Montecuculi in fear that the Viscount wou'd attack Offenburg march'd to throw Succour into the Place, in the mean time Monsieur de Turenne cut off his Communication with Strasburg, which streighten'd his Army extreamly. Both Parties skirmish'd daily, and both were in expectation of greater Action. The Enemy had made divers movements to draw the French farther off

off *Strasburg*, but not effecting their Design, they resolv'd to decide the Matter with their Swords, and to attack the Viscount in his Camp near *Strasburg*. He intended to raise a Battery on a rising Ground, and went to view the Place, carrying with him Monsieur St. *Hilaire* Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, who had a red embroider'd Cloak on ; both of them rode to view the Enemy's Ground, who supposing them to be General-Officers, pointed their Cannon at them ; this did not hinder them from going on with their Observations, and as St. *Hilaire* shew'd something to Monsieur *de Turenne* with his Hand, a Shot took it off, and kill'd this General, the 27th. of July, N.S. 1675. A Cloak was presently thrown over the Body to prevent the Army's Consternation at the News, which soon spread through both Camps. The Count *de Lorges* and the Marquess *de Vaubrun* commanded the French after the Death of the General, and broke up with the Army, which they led back by the Rivers *Kintking* and *Chentre*, and then repast the *Rhine*. The Germans follow'd them and had several Skirmishes with their Rear, but not finding it much to their Advantage, they let them continue their March undisturb'd. The King was so concern'd for the loss of this General, that as soon as he heard the News, he wou'd see no body ; his Majesty said afterwards, he had

had rather have lost two Battels. His Corps was brought from *Alsace* to *St Denis*, where is the Sepulchre of the Royal Family, and there interr'd at the King's Expence, the Great Master of the Ceremonies was order'd to assist at the Solemnity, which was Magnificent, the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* perform'd the Office of Burial, and his Funeral Oration drew Tears from all the Auditory.

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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*LEWIS II.*  
Prince of CONDE

**C**HAVIGNY, Secretary of State to Lewis XIII. meeting the Duke of Anguien, when he was no more than twenty Years of Age, returning from a Visit he had made Cardinal Richlieu : The Cardinal when he enter'd the Chamber, said to the Secretary, *You may Monsieur the Duke, who is just gone out; we have discouerst together for above two Hours on Matters of the greatest Consequence, Religion, Sciences, War, Politicks, Interests of Princes, Governments of States. He will certainly be the greatest Captain in Europe, and the first Man of his Age, perhaps of the Ages to come. We shall see by his Actions, if this great Politician*

Politician was out in his Judgment. His History wou'd exceed the Limits we have prescrib'd to ourselves in the Writing of these Lives, if we shou'd enlarge on every Event, and enter into the detail of all the Battles and Sieges he was concern'd in. We wou'd not, however, run over his Actions, which were so many Victories, without giving them as much Lustre as Truth will allow us to do, and which will be sufficient in the bare Relation to shew him to be indeed the greatest Captain of his Age, as *Richlien* fore-told he wou'd be. *Lewis de Bourbon*, the second of that Name, Prince of *Conde*, was the Son of *Henry de Bourbon*, Prince of *Conde*, and first Prince of the Blood of *France*, and of *Charlotte-Margaret de Montmorency*, was born Sept. 8. 1621. and was stil'd Duke of *Anguien*, till his Father's Death. He was bred up in the College of *Jesuits* at *Bourges*, Capital of the Province of *Berry*, which he left at thirteen Years of Age, having then gone through a Course of Philosophy; In his Youth he employ'd three hours a Day in Reading, which was always his Delight, and in Disputing with *Atheists*, *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Scepticks*, and Men of all Principles, though his Morals were not very regular; he was free in Conversation and a Lover of Raillery. The Duke of *Candale*, Son of *Gabriel Angelica*, natural Daughter of *Henry IV.* affected

to shew his Quality in all Companies, and Monsieur *Mon Pere* and Madam *Ma Mere* was always in his Mouth; the Duke of *Angoulen* hearing him one day, cry'd out, *Hoa, Monsieur my Squire, go tell Monsieur my Coach-man, that he put Messieurs my Herfes to Monsieur my Coach.* He was of a sanguine Complexion, Cholerick and Robust, he lov'd Gaming, Hunting, and all sorts of Diversions; he was well shap'd, not too slender, yet so easy, so fine, and so delicate, that he look'd extremely Graceful, whether at the Ball, on Horseback, or at any Gentleman-like Exercise. His Eyes were lively and piercing, and some have observ'd that his Physiognomy resembled an Eagle. His prevailing Inclination was for War, and he was first at the Siege of *Arras*, as a Voluntier with the Marshals *de Chalnes* and *de Chatillon*. This Town was surrendred by the Spaniards to the French the 10th. of *August* N. S. 1640. In 1641. he marry'd *Claire-Clemence de Maille Breze*, Cardinal *Richlieu's* Neice, his Father the Prince of *Conde* being frighted into the Match, lest he shou'd have been arrested for raising the Siege of *Dole* in 1636. and again, in 1638. it being reported that he was bought off by the Spaniards. The Duke left *Paris*, and as a Voluntier went to the Siege of *Aire*, where he acquir'd as much Glory, as at *Arras* the Campaign before, and at *Perpignan* he serv'd in the same Quality.

In 1642. the Mareschal *de Meilleray* commanded at both these Sieges, the King himself being present at the last, which he left before 'twas over, to meet the Cardinal at *Lyons*. The Governour of *Perpignan*, when he surrendred the Town, first saluted the Duke of *Anguien*, and then the Generals. The Duke when he return'd to *Paris*, visited the Cardinal, who ask'd him, How his Brother the Arch-bishop of *Lyons* did, and the Prince cou'd not satisfy his Eminence, for indeed, he had not seen him, though he past through the City. The Cardinal resents it, and tells his Father; who made the Duke to go immediately to *Lyons* and wait on the Arch-bishop, which the Prince did. The Minister seem'd well enough pleas'd with the deference that was paid him by both Father and Son, and well he might, for 'twas a fine Errand the Duke of *Anguien* went six hundred Miles about; a Prince of the Blood to carry a Complement to a Bishop of *Lyons*. This proud Cardinal dy'd soon after, the 4<sup>th</sup>. of December, and *Mazarine* succeeded him, who was as Subtle and Insinuating as his Predecessor was Bold and Imperious. The King gave the Command of an Army to the Duke of *Anguien*, though but in his two and twentieth Year, and departed this Life the 14<sup>th</sup>. of May 1643. before the Prince had shewn him how well he deserv'd it. He left the administration of Affairs to a Council,

compos'd of the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Conde and the Cardinal. This Minister by giving the Government of a Province and a fortify'd place or two to the Dukes of Orleans and Anguien persuaded them to leave the Regency wholly in the Queen, which the Parliament of Paris confirm'd, and Mazarine was advanc'd to be her first Minister, in the minority of Lewis XIV. then scarce five Years old. France was now at War with Germany and Spain, in Italy and in Flanders, the Spaniards hoping to profit by the Troubles that they fore-saw, wou'd happen in the French King's minority. The Duke of Anguien promis'd the Queen to be inseparable from her Interests, and then parted from the Court to be at the Rendezvous of his Army at Amiens. Don Francisco de Melos, the Spanish General, had already taken the Field. The Duke of Anguien sent Gassion to Dourlens to observe him, and being joyn'd by the Mareschal-de-Camp, La Ferte Seneterre, with the Foot, who winter'd at Arras, and by several other Troops, he resolv'd to follow Don Melos, and give Battel. The Spaniards were lain down before Rocroy, yet the Mareschal de l' Hospital, who commanded under him was not for hazarding any thing; the King being lately dead, and shou'd the French be beaten, the Enemy wou'd have free Passage to the heart of France. The Prince to finish the Dispute, said, he wou'd take

take the Event on himself, and gave him to understand he was to obey him. The Mareschal resisted no longer, and put himself at the head of the Troops he was to command. The Duke's Army was compos'd of fifteen thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, and was to fight in two Lines, supported by a Body of Reserve commanded by the Baron *de Sirat*. The Mareschal *de l' Hospital* led the left Wing, and the Prince the right: *Espinan* commanded the Foot. The Duke sent his Baggage to *Aubenton*, and then march'd in Battalia to the entrance of a Wood, which *Melos* might have disputed with him, but he gave him Liberty to pass a defile and then arrive in the Plain, where *Melos* who had rais'd the Siege of *Rocroy*, to meet him, expected and resolved to fight him. The Spanish Army consisted of eight thousand Horse commanded by the Duke of *Albuquerque*, and eighteen thousand Foot by the Count *de Fontaines*. The place the Duke of *Anguien* chose for the Field of Battel was spatioust enough for him to range his Army in the Order he design'd; the Ground rose insensibly over the Plain beneath, on his right Wing was a Wood, and a great Marsh on his left. The Spaniards were posted over-against him on an eminence, like to that he possess'd, and their Front was the same with the French: the Spaniards had lin'd a defile with a thousand Musketeers,

by which the *French* must pass, which he charg'd himself at the head of his Horse, and cut them in pieces. He then order'd *Gassion* to wheel to the Right, and encounter the *Spanish* Cavalry in the Flank, while he turn'd to the Left and attack'd them in the Front. The Wood where the Musketeers were lodg'd, cover'd *Gassion*, who surpriz'd the Duke of *Alberquerque* that knew nothing of the defeat of the Foot. Indeed he oppos'd some Squadrons to *Gassion* that came to enclose him, but those Squadrons were broken at the first Charge, and all *Alberquerque's* Horse began to be in disorder; the Duke of *Anguien* seeing they fled, commanded *Gassion* to pursue them, and in the mean time he turn'd short on the *Spanish* Infantry. The left Wing of the *French* had not the same Success, the Mareschal *de l' Hospital* having led his Horse on the gallop towards the Enemies, they were out of Breath when they came up with them. *La Ferte Seneterre* was taken, and the whole Wing immediately broken; the Mareschal rally'd, and the *Spaniards* again repuls'd him, cut off several Battalions of Foot, took the Cannon and met with no opposition, till the Baron *de Sirot* with the *Voluntiers*, and the Body of Reserve renew'd the Combat; while he stop'd the Enemy, the Duke of *Anguien*, who had defeated the *Walloon* and *German* Infantry, perceiv'd the Mareschal *de l' Hospital's*

Rout,

Rout, and knowing the Victory depended now entirely on the Troops with him, he ceas'd the pursuit and march'd against the *Spanish* Cavalry following the *French* left Wing; he found their Squadrons out of their Ranks, and with little trouble broke them. *La Ferte Seneterre* escap'd from the Enemy during this Engagement. Thus those who before were the pursuers, were now themselves pursu'd, and *Gassion* meeting them in their Flight, cut off the greatest part of them. *Melos* now withdrew out of the Battel, throwing away his General's Staff, that he might not be known. The *Spanish* Foot kept close around their Cannon, and were prepar'd to defend themselves to the last extremity. The Count *de Fontaines*, one of the greatest Captains of his time, commanded them, and tho' he was forc'd to be carry'd in a Chair, he continu'd to give out the necessary Orders. General *Beck* was advancing with six thousand Men to joyn the Enemy's Army, of which the Prince having notice, he attack'd the *Spanish* Foot, and Count *Fontaines* stood firm to receive him, and wou'd not suffer his Men to fire till the *French* were within fifty Paces, then his Battalion open'd in a moment, and there came pouring out a discharge of eighteen Cannon loaden with Cartridges, follow'd with a shower of small Shot, which the *French* cou'd not stand, and had the *Spaniards* been supported

ported by the Horse, the Duke's Army cou'd not have recover'd their Order. The Prince charg'd a second and a third time with the same Success, but the Body of Reserve being come up, and the other Squadrons from the pursuit, they on all sides fell on this brave Infantry, and the *Spaniards* were compell'd to give way to Numbers. The Officers thought now how to be safe, and the nearest made Signs with their Hats that they demanded Quarter, while the Duke of *Anguien* advanc'd to take them at their Words, the *Spaniards* fearing a new attack, discharg'd on him, and this was the greatest Danger he had been in during the whole Action, tho' he was always in the hottest of it. The *French* believing the *Spaniards* had betray'd them, charg'd the Enemy every where without staying for Order, and made a horrible Slaughter, which the Duke rode up and down to prevent; the *Spanish* Officers, and even the Soldiers fled to him for Refuge. *John George de Castellui*, he took with his own hand, and gave their Lives to the vanquish'd that ask'd it. Having given Orders for guarding the Prisoners, he rally'd his Troops to fight General *Beck*, if he attack'd *Gassion*, but this Officer returning from pursuing those that fled, inform'd him, that *Beck* had pick'd up as many of them as he cou'd, and was retir'd with precipitation. Then the Duke fell down on his Knees, and gave

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gave God thanks for his Victory, the whole Army by his Command doing the same. He slept so soundly the Night before the Battel of Rocroy, that he was forc'd to be waken'd in the Morning, like *Alexander* at the Battel of Arbella. The Fight lasted six Hours, and the Success, we may see, was almost wholly owing to the Duke of *Anguien*. There were eight thousand of *Melos*'s Army kill'd, and seven thousand taken; of the *French* two thousand were kill'd, the Count *de Fontaines* lay dead near his Chair at the head of his Men; of whom the Duke said, ' If he had not conquer'd, he shou'd have been glad to have dy'd like him. The Money which was to have paid the Army, had *Rocroy* been taken, was found in the Enemy's Camp, and the *Spaniards* have never since recover'd this Loss, the greatest overthrow they ever receiv'd from the *French*. After he had staid two Days at *Rocroy*, he led the Army to *Guise*, and resolv'd to enter the Enemy's Country, and form the Siege of *Thionville*, a place of great Importance on the *Moselle*, and which if taken, wou'd cut off the Communication of *Flanders* and *Germany*. To deceive General *Beck*, he march'd to the middle of *Flanders*, and alarm'd the principal Towns to oblige the Enemy to strengthen their Garrisons. In his March he took *Barlemont*, then the Castle of *Aimery*, *Maubenze* and *Binch*, which places made very little resistance. The ter-

ror of his March had the effect design'd. The Spanish Cavalry retreated under their Cannon, and their Infantry got into their Towns. All things being prepar'd, News came that the Marquess *de Gevres* was arriv'd with the Body he commanded near *Thionville*, and the Duke immediately broke up from *Binch*, and bent that way by the Road of *Maubeuge* and *Beaumont*. He detach'd the Marquess *d' Aumont* with twelve hundred Horse to join the Marquess *de Gevres*, and invest the Town, which they did two days before the arrival of the Prince, who crossing part of *France* and *Luxemburg*, in seven days reach'd *Thionville* from *Binch*. The Lines of Circumvallation were begun to be drawn when the Duke arriv'd the 31<sup>st</sup>. of *June*. After the Mines were ready, the Duke gave notice to the Town, and summon'd them to surrender, to save their ruin in an Assault. The besieg'd had liberty to view them, and being convinc'd of their danger, capitulated on very honourable Conditions. The Garrison march'd out *August* 22. N. S. thirty days after the opening the Trenches, and were conducted to *Luxemburg*. The Prince stai'd three weeks at *Thionville* to repair the Fortifications, and leaving *de Marolles* in this Important Place with one thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, he spent the rest of the Campaign in taking *Cirk*, and other Castles

on

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on the *Moselle*, between *Treves* and *Thionville*. After this Expedition he left the Army with *Espinan*, *Palluan*, *Sirots* and *Dandelot*, and with two thousand Horse himself made an Incursion into the Country of *Luxemburg*, in hopes to meet General *Beik's* Horse, which keeping fast in that City, he carri'd off a great Booty, and return'd to his Army at *Villers la Montagne*. He then resign'd the general Command to the Duke of *Angouleme*, and went to Court. He was receiv'd by the King and Queen as his Victory deserv'd, and had not been there long before he was forc'd to go to the Army in *Germany*; to carry a Reinforcement to the Mareschal de *Guebaut*, whom the Count *de Merey* had driv'n over the *Rhine*. He found the Mareschal at *Dachstein* near *Strasburg*, and left five thousand Men with him, while he went to visit the Places in *Alsace*, and arriving at *Neufchatel* he distributed the Army into Winter-Quatters, and then return'd to *Paris*, where he engag'd in the Queen Mother's and her Minister's Interest, and had the Government of *Champaign* and *Stenay* given him. He went early in the Spring into *Luxemburg*, hoping to add some other Conquest to *Thionville*; but here he receiv'd Orders from Court to march with a Reinforcement to the Army on the *Rhine*, where Monsieur *de Turenne* extremely wanted it. In thirteen days he march'd seventy Leagues,

and

and arriv'd the 28. of *August* at *Brisac* with six thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. The Viscount *de Turenne* had giv'n notice to the Governor of *Friburg* besieg'd by the *Bavarians* of the Prince's approach ; but this Officer had not patience to stay till his arrival : for which, had not *Mazarine* been his friend, the Duke would have hang'd him. From *Brisac* the Prince advanc'd towards *Turenne's* Camp, near the Enemies, and Count *de Marfin* past over the *Rhine* with the Army near *Brisac*. He had a Conference with the Viscount at his Camp, where having concerted their Enterprize, he return'd to his Army, and march'd to put it in Execution. *Merci's* Camp cou'd not well be attack'd but by the way of *Brisac* to *Friburg*, which the Prince undertook while the Viscount fell on them on another side. To reach the Enemy the *French* must cross a Vineyard, wherein there were Walls four Foot high, which were as so many Entrenchments for the *Bavarians* ; behind these was a Wood with Trees laid a cross the Banks, intangled one in another. The *French* beat the *Bavarians* to the Wood, which they cou'd not force without breaking their Order, and losing a great many Men. The Duke seeing he did not succeed that way, attack'd the Enemies Line in the middle, though he had but two Regiments with him : his Example incourag'd others to follow.

low. There was no other way to disingage the Viscount *de Turenne*, against whom the main power of the Enemy was bent. The Prince march'd to the *Germans*, at the Head of the Regiment of *Conti*, with his Sword in his Hand, follow'd by the Mareschal *de Grammont*, *Marsin*, and other Officers and Voluntiers, afoot : This animated the Soldiers, who fell on the *Bavarians* with incredible Fury, and drove those that defended the Trenches from their Lines, and they fled into the Wood, favour'd by night, which drew on, before the Engagement was over. The Duke gather'd his Foot together ; provided the Posts he had taken with Guards, and made his Cavalry mount an Eminence he aim'd to possess, Trumpets sounding, and Drums beating. He informs the Viscount *de Turenne* that his Army had gain'd the Hill, and all things were disposing to begin the Fight next day. The Viscount on this side met such warm reception, that he cou'd not force the *Bavarians*. He gain'd Posts and lost them, and cou'd not penetrate their Entrenchments. The Prince purpos'd to attack the Enemies Camp on his side, and facilitate Monsieur *de Turenne*'s entrance into the Plain ; but *Merci* cunningly drew himself out of danger, and in the night retir'd with his Troops to a Hill near *Friburg*. Next morning the Duke seeing the Viscount's Army spread on the Plain, descended with

with his, and march'd in Battalia to attack the Enemy in their new Entrenchments, after the Army had refresh'd themselves that day: Early the next the Duke came to the Foot of the Mountain, and in his way took some Redoubts from the Enemy. Viscount *de Turenne* led the Van, and had the greatest effort to make; but an Accident happen'd which ruin'd this Design. While the Generals were expecting the coming up of their Rear, the Duke, the Viscount, and the Mareschal *de Grammont* having mounted the highest Hill to discover the Enemy, and see their order of Battel; In their absence *Espinan*, with the Duke's Infantry engag'd the *Bavarians*: the Fight began insensibly about a Redoubt, which *Espinan* detach'd a Party to attack, and Parties supporting both sides as they wanted help, the *French* and *Bavarians* were Combating when they least intended it. The Duke saw the Skirmish from the Hill, and ran immediately to put things in order; his Presence encourag'd his Soldiers, and two *Bavarian* Regiments were presently forc'd back; but being sustain'd by those that guarded the Lines, the *French* Foot ply'd in their turn, the Officers themselves gave ground, whatever the Generals did or said to persuade them to stand firm. Then the Duke was compel'd to give over his attack, and retreat with his Men to his former Camp, resolving to change the order

of

of his Attack; in the last he was continually on Horseback, and not above thirty Paces from *Merci's Trenches*. He was the only Person of twenty, who were about him, that did not bring off some mark or other of the danger he was in. In his next attempt, instead of attacking the Enemy on the side of the Hill, he order'd the principal Effort to be made on their Intrenchment of Trees. The Marques de *Aumont* was commanded to make a Diversion on the same side as the last Attack. The Duke and Monsieur de *Turenne* with the Foot, supported by the *Gens d'arms*, and *Rose's Horse*, march'd directly to their Intrenchments behind the Trees. The *Bavarians* fir'd continually upon them; yet they went on to try to beat them from their Works: both sides fir'd furiously till night parted them, and the *French* were again forc'd to retreat, not being able to gain their Attack. Two thousand of their Men were kill'd and wounded this day; the Prince rather consulting his Glory than the safety of his Soldiers; for discoursing of the Loss, he said pleasantly *there were more Men got every night in Paris*. He then left off his Design of forcing *Merci's Camp*, and only resolv'd to cut off his Convoys, and oblige him for want of Provisions to leave the advantagious Post he was in. He march'd his Army towards *Langsdilinghen* between *Friburg* and

*Filinghen*, the properest place to incommod the *Bavarians*, and fight 'em in their Retreat. *Merci*, one of the most Politick Generals of the Age, guess'd the Prince's Design, and saw he had no way to escape fighting but to be beforehand with him. As soon as the *French* Rear were on the march, he decamp'd, and kept his way along the Hills, sending his Baggage by the Vale of St. Peter, toward *Filinghen*, and when the Duke heard of his march, he hastned his own with all possible Diligence; but his Troops being fatigu'd, and the way bad, he detach'd Colonel *Rose* with eight hundred Horse to amuse the *Bavarians*, while the rest of his Army past the Defiles, and as soon as he got to the top of the Hill, he found the *Bavarians* in Battalia, and *Rose* almost up with their Rear-Guard, which he disorder'd. *Merci* was resolv'd to get rid of him before the Prince came near, and turning to the Right with his Army, marchid against *Rose*'s Cavalry, who instead of retiring to a Defile which was behind him, fac'd the whole *Bavarian* Army in the Plain, and fought with several Squadrons with advantage, till *Mercy* seeing the Prince's Army approach, gave him time to retire, and did the same himself in a great deal of order, and marching so fast in the great Road to *Filinghen*, that the *French* presently lost sight of him. Thus ended the Battel of *Friburg*.

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Eight thousand French were kill'd in the three Disputes, and Merci's losf was as great. The Duke follow'd him that day in vain, and encamp'd at night at the Abby of St. Peter. He afterwards return'd to *Langsdelinghen*, where he left his Cannon and Baggage, and there resolv'd to turn the retreat of Merci to his advantage by the Siege of *Philipsburg*. The sixteenth of *August* his Army broke up from *Langsdelinghen*, marching along the *Rhine* by the Road of *Dourlach*. The Viscount *de Turenne*, with three thousand Horse, invested *Philipsburg*, two days before the Prince arriv'd with the rest of the Army, the 25. of *August*. *Bambergh* Governor, when the Prince invested it, had but six hundred Men in Garison, but had one hundred pieces of Cannon, and Provisions for a long Siege; not having not Men enough to man the Fort on the *Rhine*, he abandon'd it, and during the whole Siege made but one Sally. The Prince advanc'd his Works without any opposition, except the Fire of the Cannon and small Shot. The Governour *Bambergh* being weak, capitulated before his Affairs came to Extremity, and surrender'd on honourable Conditions, Sept. 27. Monsieur *de Turenne*, with part of the Army, took *Worms* and *Mayence*, which Cities desir'd they might have the honour to deliver their Keys to the Prince himself; who, to please them, came thither from *Philipsburg*,

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enter'd *Mayence* in Triumph, being Complemented by the Council in a Latin Speech, which he return'd in the same Language. *Spire*, *Landau*, *Newstadt*, *Manheim*, and *Bacarac* follow'd, making very little Resistance. The Duke with this ended the Campaign, took the *French Horse* with him, and left the rest of the Army with the Viscount de *Turenne*.

These Conquests made more noise than they were of real Advantage. The *Imperialists* soon recover'd the Places taken. However, the Prince, on his arrival at Court, was applauded and congratulated as much as though they had been of the greatest Consequence. The Duke, who was to command in *Germany*, staid too long in *Lorrain*, at the beginning of the next Campaign, where he was reducing some Towns to Obedience, that had open'd their Gates to their Natural Lord the Duke of *Lorrain*, who march'd against the Prince at the Siege of *la Motte*; but the Duke of *Anguien* was so advantageously posted, Duke Charles cou'd not force his Camp. The Cardinal wrote to the Prince to join Monsieur de *Turenne*, tir'd out with the *Swedes* Complaints of the Duke's delay: and *la Motte* being reduc'd, he took Mareschal de *Grammont* with six thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse with him, pass'd the *Rhine* at *Spires*, and reach'd Monsieur de *Turenne*, meeting no body to oppose him.

him. The *Swedes* cou'd not be prevail'd on to stay, and *Merci* increas'd his Army with four thousand Men, under General *Gleen*; yet the Duke resolv'd to leave the County of *Hesse*, to pass the *Neckar*, and besiege *Hailbron*. *Merci* perceiving his Design, posted himself on the other side of the River, and the Prince durst not pass it in his presence: so he made himself Master of *Wempheim*, and then past the River to draw the Enemy to a Battle. The Duke seiz'd *Rottembourg* to secure his Retreat. He staid there a few days to refresh, thence he march'd to *Dunkenspiel*, intending to Attack it; but the Enemy being only a League off, he left his Baggage, and march'd to oblige them to fight him. When *Merci* heard this, he drew up his Army in Battalia behind a Marsh, which extended from one Wing of his Army to the other. The Duke durst not Attack him in the Bog, without exposing his Men to ruin. The two Armies Cannonaded each other a whole day, then the Duke advanc'd towards *Nortlinguen* to besiege it, or oblige *Merci* to a Battle. After a days march he heard the Enemy were before him, to hinder his attacking that Place, he then saw himself at Liberty to fall on *Heilbron*, which he rejoic'd at, as preferring that Siege to the other. He had not resolv'd on this long, when a *Swedish* Horseman advis'd him the *Bavarians* were but four Miles off. He

went himself with the Generals to be assur'd, and did not go far before he discover'd the Enemies Troops. The Duke gave order for his Army to double their Pace, and *Merci* was busie in Posting himself to advantage. He was so sure of Victory, that when he heard the *French* Cannon begin to play he kiss'd his Wife, and said, now God has put the Enemy into my Hands. He took off above forty Glasses of Wine, and yet was not the least disorder'd. The *Bavarians* were Encamp'd between two Eminencies, having a good Castle before them, and a Village, where they lodg'd part of their Infantry, who were carefully intrench'd. The Right Wing commanded by General *Gleen*, was on the right side of the Village, extending to the Hill on the same side. The *Bavarian* Horse made the Left Wing, and extended themselves to the Hill on the other side of the Village. The Mareschal *de Grammont* commanded the *French* Right Wing, and the Viscount *de Turenne* the Left, the Duke of *Anguienne* led the main Body of Foot opposite to that of the Enemy. In this Order the *French* Infantry march'd against the Village where the *Bavarians* were intrench'd, and to support them *Merci* detach'd a Party of Foot, who made so great Fire, the *French* cou'd not stand it. *Marfin*, who commanded them, was wounded, and his Men intirely broken. The Prince order'd

der'd *la Moussarie* with fresh Men to renew the Attack of the Village, and these the *Bavarians*, after an obstinate Fight repuls'd. The Duke then charg'd himself, and had his Horse kill'd under him, he was besides wounded in the Thigh, yet cou'd not be persuaded to go out of the danger, he kept in the middle of the Fire animating his Soldiers with his Voice, and his Gesture, to do their Duty. *Merci* was kill'd himself in the Action, and the *French* afterwards master'd the Village, which they immediately burnt. The *Bavarian* Foot fled all, except two Regiments which were retir'd to a House that was tenable, and the other to the Church, where they maintain'd themselves till the Combat was over. The left Wing of the *Bavarians* fell presently on the Mareschal *de Grammont*, as soon as the *French* Foot had gain'd the Post. The Mareschal resisted their Effort some time, and was wounded in the Head, fighting in the midst of the Battel; but the *Bavarians* at last forc'd the *French* to break, and to retreat. General *de Weart* follow'd them down thence to the Body of Reserve, who were also compell'd to give ground. The Mareschal after he had done his utmost to rally his Troops, and was left by them, put himself at the Head of two *Irish* Regiments of Foot, that had not quitted their Post, and expected the *Bavarian* Attacks with a great deal of Resolution;

these made a furious Discharge on the Horse, but being incompt by them on all sides, they were oblig'd to fly after the *French*, and the Mareschal was taken Prisoner. The Duke of *Anguien*, when the Village was master'd, ran to the Left Wing, under Monsieur de *Turenne*, and in his way had another Horse kill'd under him. The Viscount advanc'd between the Hill and the Village through the Enemies Fire in Flank, from both the Village and the Hill, and though himself chanc'd to be slightly wounded, he fell on the *Bavarians* Right Wing with his usual Valour, and the *Germans* behaving themselves with their wonted Courage, the fight was long and doubtful. The Viscount's Wing consisted of the Troops of *Hesse*, and the *Swedish* Horse, which were not so easily routed as the *French* in the Right Wing, and who being us'd to Conquer, shew'd their utmost Bravery to preserve their Reputation. Monsieur de *Turenne*, after several Attacks, broke the *Bavarian* first Line; but General *Gleen* advancing with the Second, broke the Viscounts in his Turn, and now his Horse dropt in the Battel. His Highness with the Troops of *Hesse* in the Second Line march'd against General *Gleen*, and ralli'd the *Swedes* Horse which were disorder'd with him. Monsieur de *Turenne* went again to the Battel, notwithstanding the continual Fire from the neigh-

neighbouring Hill. The two Armies stood at a Musket-shot distance from each other for some time without firing, then the Germans discharg'd, and the Hessians charg'd them afterwards so forcibly, that they began to be shaken; the Prince his Horse was wounded, and himself shot in his Elbow with a Pistol-shot. The Enemy rally'd and charg'd four or five times, however, they in the end gave way, and General Gleen was made Prisoner. The Fight then was rather a Shambles than a Field of Battel, the Prince having commanded there shou'd be no Quarters given, to save the trouble of Prisoners. Monsieur de Turenne then turn'd on the left Wing that had defeated the Mareschal de Grammont; the Bavarians seeing the Rout of their Right, retir'd to a Mill, where they had eight Pieces of Cannon, and Night coming on, thus ended the famous Battel of Norlinguen, to the Advantage of the French only, that they kept the Field; for the Loss was almost equal; of the Bavarians two thousand were kill'd, and thirteen hundred taken; of the French eighteen hundred kill'd, and most of their Officers, besides a vast Number of Prisoners. Christiana Queen of Sweden, wrote to the Prince a Letter with her own hand, congratulating his Victory, rejoicing that he had reveng'd the Swedes, who were routed by the King of Hungary near Norlinguen in 1637. The Duke wou'd not attribute

bute the Glory of the Day wholly to himself, but wrote to the Queen, that the Viscount de Turenne had a very great share in it. *Norlinguen* and *Dunkespiel* now made little Resistance. The Prince then invested *Hailbron*, yet cou'd not besiege it in form before he was taken ill of a violent Distemper, which oblig'd his Physicians to remove him to *Philipsburg*, leaving the Command of the Army with the Viscount de Turenne and the Mareschal de Grammont, who was exchang'd for General Gleen. The Prince of Conde sent his Physicians to look after him, and his Health which was almost despair'd of, soon after was recover'd, to the great Joy of the Court and Kingdom.

In 1646. the Army in Germany were reduc'd to so small a number, that the Prince rather chose to serve as Lieutenant-General under the Duke of Orleans in Flanders, than venture his Reputation on the Rhine. In May he arriv'd with the Duke at *Arras*, and while that Prince besieg'd *Courtray*, he made himself Master of *Lanoy*. He thence return'd to the Camp before *Courtray*, and was always on Horseback, passing whole Nights in the Trenches which had not been open'd more than 13 Days before the Town surrendred. After the taking of *Courtray*, he march'd with the Mareschal de Grammont to *Molbeuk*, and having seen the Mareschal out of Danger, left him to lead his six thousand Auxiliaries

to the Prince of Orange. The Enemy appear'd in sight in this March, yet durst not attack him, and the Duke being reinforc'd by the Duke of Orleans, oblig'd them to retreat under the Walls of Bruges. The Prince after this assist'd at the Siege of Mardike, and was wounded, fighting at the head of the Trenches ; the Soldiers were extremely griev'd for him, and their extraordinary concern is thought to be the occasion that the Duke of Orleans left the Army, as soon as the Siege of Mardike was over. The Prince being now Master, and recover'd of his Wound, resolv'd on an Enterprize worthy his Fame and his Fortune, which was the Siege of Dunkirk ; he order'd Admiral Tromp to anchor before the Town to hinder Ships entring the Port, he then advanc'd to Furnes on the River Lograt, resolv'd to drive some Spaniards from a Post on that River, and to take the Town. He also prepar'd to attack Cercene and Lamboy, who were with six thousand Men on the other side of the New River. The Troops that were posted on those Rivers retiring at his approach, he follow'd them, if possible, to draw them to Battel. To that end, he took with him four hundred Horse and as many Musketeers, and having given Directions for his Army to follow him with diligence, he advanc'd to the Enemy, who chose rather to withdraw than to fight him. The Duke past the New River

River at the head of his Cavalry, and the Army follow'd. The Spaniards retiring to *Newport*, *Furnes* open'd its Gates to him, and then *Dunkirk* was positively resolv'd to be besieg'd ; before the surrender of *Furnes*, 'twas disputed whether it shou'd be *Dunkirk* or *Menin*. The Design was great, being accompany'd with Difficulties that were thought insurmountable, because the Winter drew near. The place was in a good State of defence, well fortify'd and provided with Necessaries, the Garrison strong, the Baron *de Leda*, who commanded in the Town one of the bravest and faithfulest Captains of his Age, fam'd for the Defence of *Maestricht* in 1632. against the Prince of *Orange*. All these Obstacles cou'd not discourage the Duke of *Anguien*, he thought it Glorious to Attempt what none besides him had dar'd think on; so he prepar'd for the Siege, and then wrote to Court for Orders. He reinforc'd his Army with fresh Troops, he supply'd his Army with Provision from *Calais* and other Places in the Neighbourhood, and order'd some light Ships to cruise on the *Dunkirkers*, who often slipt by the Dutch Fleet at the Mouth of the Port. He fortify'd *Furnes*, and gather'd together a great deal of Forrage, being present himself every where to see his Orders executed ; the Ministers in the mean time sent him an answer from Court, which shew'd they shou'd be willing to have the Place taken,

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taken, but if he miscarry'd, he was to take the blame on himself. On this, he left twelve hundred Foot and a hundred Horse in *Furnes*, and the 19th. of *September* march'd towards *Dunkirk*, with an Army of no more than ten thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, in three Brigades, commanded by himself, the Mareschals *Gaffon* and *Rantzau*. In six hours march they arriv'd before *Dunkirk*; at that time there were in the Town two thousand six hundred Foot, three hundred Horse, three thousand Burghers able to bear Arms, and two thousand Sea-men. The Prince immediately distributed their Quarters, and the next Day the Line of Circumvallation was begun. Monsieur *Sarasin* the Prince's Secretary, has written the History of this Siege with a great deal of exactness, perspicuity and politeness; 'tis in a Volume of his Poems and other Works at large, to which we refer the Reader. The Duke enter'd *Dunkirk*, which was surrendere'd on Articles the 11th. of *October*, and the Government of the Place given to the Mareschal de *Rantzau*. He after this carry'd himself a great Convoy of Provisions and Necessaries to *Courtray*, being observ'd by the Enemy all the way, his Horse having each a Sack of Meal behind. The Spaniards attack'd his Rear, but were repuls'd with Loss, and whatever they cou'd do, he arriv'd with his Convoy at *Courtray*; thence he went to Court, and on his arrival, was

was receiv'd with inexpressible Praises and Acclamations; yet the Charge of Admiral, which his Father demanded for him, vacant by the Death of the Duke of *Breze* his Brother-in-Law, was refus'd, the Queen saying, She wou'd not dispose of it till the King's Majority. The 26th. of December the Prince of *Conde* dy'd, and his Son the Duke of *Anguien* enjoy'd his Title and a vast Estate.

The Prince hitherto has had Fortune on his side, but she this Year begins to shew him that there are none of her Favours so uncertain as those she bestows in War. The Prince went in the Spring 1647. to his Government of *Burgundy*, which the Queen on his Father's Death continu'd to him, as also the Charge of Great Master of the King's Household. Card. *Mazarine* who dreaded the Prince's proud, imperious Humour, thought to send him far enough from Court, and tempted him by fair Promises, to accept of the Command of the Army in *Catalonia*, and of the Viceroyship of that Province, which he accepted against the persuasions of his Friends. The Prince found every thing out of order when he arriv'd in that Province, yet believing the Fortune of *Catalonia* depended on the taking of *Lerida*, he form'd the Siege, to revenge Count d' *Harcourt*'s Affront before the Place the last Year. He open'd the Trenches with Violins, in contempt of the Enterprize which he thought

so easie, that he shou'd soon go thro' with it, and sent the Governour word, ' He wou'd often give him such Serenades. The Governour said, ' His Musick was not ready, but that on the morrow, he wou'd return his Complement : Which he did more like a Soldier, 'tis true, tho' not so gayly, for at the same hour he made a dreadful discharge of his Cannon, and sally'd out at the head of four hundred Horse, twelve hundred Musketeers, and near one hundred reform'd Officers. The Prince left nothing undone to beat him back, yet he was oblig'd to give Ground with the loss of eight hundred Men. This was a terrible Mortification to him, and some think he deserv'd to dance after the unseasonable Jig which he play'd to the Governour. He cou'd not repair this Loss, and the *Spaniards* with twelve thousand Foot and three thousand Horse march'd to relieve the Town, which News embarrass'd him. His Honour on one side urg'd him to attempt every thing rather than raise the Siege ; on the other, the fear of being compell'd to it, oblig'd him to prevent such a Misfortune by a speedy Retreat, having not Force enough to continue it. The Prince's Council with difficulty persuaded him to remove, at last they prevail'd on him. The *Spaniards* preparing to fall upon his Lines, he repast the *Segre* a League from *Lerida*, and encamp'd there for six Weeks to observe the Enemy ;

Enemy; he detach'd small Parties to endeavour to draw them out of their Entrenchments to a Combat, but cou'd not. Having then secur'd the Frontier, he quitted that Post, and took the Town and Castle of *Ager*, only making the Garrison Prisoners. This was the Prince of *Conde's* last Exploit in *Catalonia*, and he was so angry with *Mazarine* for engaging him in this Expedition, and not sending him the promis'd Succours, that he retir'd to his Government and went not to Court. Yet in a little while he was won by their Solicitations to return. He was at first highly enrag'd with the Cardinal: However, a large Sum of Money for a new Equipage and the Command of the Army in *Flanders* appeas'd him. 'Twas about this time the Troubles began to break out at *Paris*, occasion'd by the general Discontent with Cardinal *Mazarine's* Ministry. The Taxes ran extravagantly high, and little care was taken by the Superintendent *d' Emery* to ease the People in the Collection. Every Day some new Project to furnish the Ex-pence of the War was invented, and the new Funds gather'd in with all manner of Oppression and Cruelty. The Projectors had now drain'd their Inventions, and there was nothing to be thought on, but an Edict to tax the Sovereign Courts; the Chancellor *Seguier* was *Mazarine's* Creature, and did what he pleas'd to bid him, so he readily sign'd

sign'd it. The Parliament of *Paris* rejected it boldly, and presently publish'd a Decree, by which they united themselves with other Sovereign Courts to deliberate of the pressing Affairs of State. This Decree of Union was a Signal for all the Male-contents, whom the Queen-Regent wou'd have dealt roughly with, had not the timerous Cardinal advis'd to safer and milder Methods. The Parliament receiv'd Petitions from the Multitude, setting forth their Grievances in bitter Terms against *d' Emery* and *Mazarine*. The Queen now afraid of them, authoriz'd all their Decrees. This Proceeding was look'd on as a sign of Weakness and Terror, and was too late to pacifie the People, whose Demands were the higher, the more she granted. Those who declar'd openly against *Mazarine* and the Ministry, were call'd *Frondeurs* (*Slingers*) a term of Raillery.

The Arch-Duke *Leopold* took the Field early in the Spring, 1648. and the Prince of *Conde* did the same to observe him. The Arch-Duke having detach'd a Party to send to the *Rhine*, the Prince of *Conde* took hold of the weakness of the *Spaniards*, besieg'd *Tpres* the 17th. of *May*; the Arch-Duke attempted in vain to force his Lines, so he turn'd his Arms on *Courtray*, which Garrison was weaken'd by Drafts made for the Army before *Tpres*, by which means *Leopold* soon conquer'd it; he then took *Furnes*, the Castle

N n d Eterre,

& Eterre, and laid down before Lens. The Prince for want of Money cou'd do no more than take Ypres, after a Siege of thirteen Days. The Difference between the Cardinal and the Parliament increasing, he cou'd not have the Remittances necessary to oppose the Arch-Duke, yet he resolv'd to put a stop to his Success by attacking him. In his way he retook d'Eterre by Assault, and advanc'd to succour Lens. The Enemy was before-hand with him, and having taken the Place, march'd to fight him. They were stronger than the French, and posted to advantage; the Prince, as fond as he was to fight them, wou'd not attempt it in the Post they were in, so he retir'd, and the Arch-Duke sent his Cavalry after him, while his Infantry follow'd slowly. The Prince seeing they came on him in disorder, sure as they thought of Victory, stood firm with his Squadrons, and ordering the Charge to be founded, march'd with his Sword in his hand against the Squadron that was most advanc'd to begin the Combat, and routed the left Wing of the Spaniards that were oppos'd to the right of the French. The Mareschal de Grammont in the left, was repuls'd by the Count de Bucquoy, but the Prince coming to the Succour of the Mareschal, routed also Bucquoy. The Horse being thus entirely overthrown, he fell on the Foot who were alone on the Plain, and cut them almost

most alioff: this was one of his most memorable Victories. The Arch-Duke and Count *Faenseldeign Gouvernour of Flanders*, escap'd with difficulty, General *Beck* was taken and dy'd afterwards of his Wounds, the Baron *de Braufont*, his Son the Prince *de Ligne*, the Count *de St. Amour* Generals of the Spanish Artillery were made Prisoners, with five thousand Soldiers, and three thousand kill'd on the spot, all the Spanish Cannon and Baggage were abandon'd to the French, of whom no more than eighteen hundred were kill'd or wounded. The Prince then retook *Furnes*, before which Town, though it held out scarce twenty four Hours from his arrival at the Camp, he was wounded by a Musket-shot in the Reins, his Buff-Belt by good Fortune was folded in that place, which deaden'd the Ball, or this Conquest had been his last. The Court at *Paris* resolv'd to improve the Victory of *Lens*, by humbling the Parliament, and seizing the Chief of those who durst oppose the Ministry, and stickle for redress of Grievances. They began with Monsieur *de Broussel*, one of that Body, and who as Monsieur *de Rochfaucault* says in his Memoirs, was grown old in his hatred of Favourites, a Person of true Zeal for the Publick Good, and therefore most obnoxious to the Ministry. This provok'd the *Parisians* and the Baricado was renew'd; The Parliament sent the President *de Mole*,

with several Counsellors, to demand Monsieur de Broussel's Liberty of the Queen; and as they went, the People protested to them, they wou'd never lay down their Arms, till they saw the *Father of his Country*, for they always stil'd Monsieur de Broussel, a Name more Glorious than all such vain Titles as have been the Reward of Flattery, and the betraying the Liberty of Nations. The first President, and the Counsellors twice petition'd for the release of de Broussel, and the Queen was obstinate for his detention. They were returning to their Chambers when the People stop'd them, and ask'd for their Father; as soon as they understood he was not to be releas'd, they threaten'd to demand his Liberty with two hundred thousand Men in Arms, and cut Mazarin's Throat, who they knew was the Author of all the Mischiefs that happen'd. The Counsellors return'd, and pray'd the Queen to release their Brother. As soon as she heard the Disposition of the *Parisians* towards her Favourite Cardinal, she consented. The People stood to their Arms till they saw Monsieur de Broussel, and then they presently dispers'd themselves: Mazarin's Fears were very instrumental to de Broussel's Liberty. The Parliament encourag'd by the Favour of the Citizens, and the Terrors of the Court, form'd the Design of ruining the Cardinal. This was the posture of Affairs, when the

Prince

Prince of Conde was recall'd to Court. At his return, he was ador'd by all, and courted by both sides, and had he declar'd now generously for the Parliament, he had outré Magazine and prevented Lewis XIVth's future Design on the remainders of the French Liberty; but he did every thing as he thought for his present Interest, or to gratifie a prevailing Passion. He had two Confidants, the Duke de Châtillon who persuaded him to declare for the Parliament, as having Justice and the Liberties of France on their side; the other was the Mareschal de Grammont, who had his Bread from the Court, and us'd his endeavours to keep him true to the Queen. The Parliament continu'd to prosecute the Cardinal, and several Speeches were made against him, and Counsellors order'd to desire the Queen, who was retir'd with the King to Ruel, to return. They wrote also to the Princes, praying them to be present at their Assemblies, and consult for the good of the State, but both the Queen and the Prince refus'd to come. The Prince of Conde, with unusual Temper, wrote to the Parliament to send Deputies to St. Germain to compose Matters at a Conference; the Deputies arriv'd, and the Declaration of the 28th. of October, wherein the King cut off twelve Millions of Taxes in favour of the People, made up the Breach at this time. The Frondeurs were not long quiet, new

Commotions were rais'd on just Fears, that the Court was not sincere in the Declaration, they endeavour'd by powerful Reasons to persuade the Prince of Conde to head them. Whether he promis'd de Broussel at Noisy, as is said, or not, he was not yet dispos'd to be of their Party ; the Queen calling him her third Son, and the King embracing him, said, ' He recommended to him the safety of the State and of his Person. The Friends increas'd daily, and the Parliament shew'd plain enough by their Actions, that nothing but Mazarin's Ruin wou'd satisfy them ; the Prince went with the Duke of Orleans to the Parliament, the President *Ville* began by imploring the Holy Ghost to illuminate the Princes as to the Cardinals Conduct, against whom he then spoke very warmly, the Prince rose and bade him be silent ; the young Counsellors by their murmurs, first discover'd their dislike of the Prince's Action, and he enrag'd by their Noise, threaten'd them with Words and with his Hands. This lost him the Love of that Company, and the People no sooner heard it, than those who before had the greatest Esteem and Veneration for his Person, began to fear and hate him ; the Court's Quarrel was thus become his own, and this made him so ready to besiege Paris. The Queen resolv'd to revenge the Baricades, and the Mareschal de Meilleraye a vile Instrument of

the Favourites propos'd to starve the City, which the Prince oppos'd and chang'd that Design to a Siege. The 5th. of January 1649. the Queen retir'd with the King, the Cardinal and the Royal Family to St. Germain-en-Laye, where the Blockade of *Paris* was at a Council determin'd that day : The Prince staid last in *Paris* to bring out his Brother the Prince of *Conti*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville* his Sister. The *Parisians* now seem'd resolv'd to defend themselves vigorously, and rail'd with violence at the Queen, the Prince of *Conde*, the Cardinal, and all who were concern'd in carrying off the King ; the Parliament declar'd *Mazarine* an Enemy to the State, and banish'd him the Kingdom. The Prince of *Conde* form'd the Blockade with eight thousand Men, 'twill scarce be believ'd by Posterity, that with so few Men the Prince shou'd attempt the Siege of a City, wherein there were near two hundred thousand Men able to bear Arms, yet he seiz'd *de Lagny*, *Corbeil*, *St. Cloud*, *St. Dennis*, *Charenton*, which are almost all the Posts in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, and went on with his attacks on the City itself. The Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Brisac*, and the Prince of *Marsillac* left the Court, and sided with the *Frondeurs* ; the Prince was made Generalissimo of their Forces, the Dukes

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of *Elleuff*, *Bonillon*, *Beaufort* & Lieutenant Generals, and the Mareschal de *Motte* *Hautcourt* was to command in the same Quality. The Prince of *Conti* was at *Charenton* when the Prince of *Conti* and the Duchess of *Longueville* left *St. Germain*: he was himself suspected by the Queen, and to dissipate her Fears rail'd, loudly at his Brother and Sister's going off. The Prince then advis'd that the King might be remov'd to one of the remote Provinces of his Government, which the Duke of *Orleans* oppos'd out of Jealousy, lest the Prince's Power shou'd be unlimited, when his Majesty was in his Custody. The Cardinal despairing of overcoming the Party against his Tyranny, thought about this time of leaving the Kingdom, if the Prince had not assur'd the Queen, That he wou'd perish, or bring him back to Paris triumphant over his Enemies. Monsieur de *Turenne* was on the Parliament side in this Quarrel, and so indeed were all the Men of Honour, Lovers of their Country and the just Prerogative of the Crown, in opposition to Arbitrary Power, now made Sacred in France, under the Name of the Authority Royal. The Prince of *Conti* abandon'd *Charenton* to enlarge his Army with the Garrison, into which Place the Prince of *Conti* put *Clanleu* with three thousand Men, most Militia, raw and undisciplin'd. *Conte* orders the Duke of *Chatillon* to retake it, himself

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himself advancing with the Cavalry on an Eminence, to prevent Succour from Paris. This Town was taken the 8th. of Febr. 1649. to the Grief of the Parisians, and discredit of their Arms, the Prince making himself Master of it in sight of their numerous Army. This ill Success, and the Combats at Bois de Vincennes, Lagny and Bray Count Robert dispos'd the Citizens to Peace, and their calling in the Arch-Duke, made the Court the more ready to hearken to Terms. The 11th. of March Articles were agreed on between the Deputies of the Parliament and the Chancellor Monsieur le Tellier for the Court, for the Deputies refus'd to treat with Mazarine. The Arch-Duke's Envoy was to be sent back without Answer, and the King to grant a General Pardon.

This put an End to the *Paris* War for a while, the Prince's Services in it, made the Cardinal uneasie, his Demands and Demeanour were high, and such as the Minister cou'd not comply with; the Cardinal wou'd have marry'd his Neice to the Duke of Mercœur, which Marriage the Prince oppos'd. The Favourite complain'd aloud, and the Prince tooke no Notice of it, continuing to rally him, and treat him in all Companies as a Person he despis'd, and one very unfit for the Post he was in. These Discourses were told the Minister, who said little, but silently contriv'd the ruin of his Restorer.

Conde, who now thought to make himself Popular, went to *Paris*, and the Opinion the Citizens had of his Valour, made them receive him, as if he was their best Friend, and then having reconcil'd himself to the Duke of *Orleans*, he withdrew into his Government of *Burgundy*. In the mean time, *Mazarine* besieg'd *Cambray*, and was compell'd to raise the Siege, of which the Prince was not sorry, that Enterprize being undertaken without consulting him, and meant to shew that the Cardinal cou'd depend on his own Counsel, nor wanted his Assistance. He was offer'd the Command in *Flanders* and refus'd it, being pleas'd with the change of managing the Business of the Field for that of the Cabinet, yet the Cardinal found him ready to favour his return to *Paris*, which he had not yet attempted. The *Frondeurs* began to move again, their hatred to him, and their Pow'r to hurt were not diminish'd by the Peace. The Favourite thought the King's presence wou'd quiet all things. The King, the Queen, the Prince and Cardinal, made their Entry in one Coach, the Prince and the Cardinal were in the Boot; when they came to the Palace, the Prince said to the Queen, *That he thought himself most happy in accomplishing his Promise to bring the Cardinal back to Paris*; her Majesty reply'd, *Monsieur, the Service which you have render'd the State is so great, the King and I shou'd be ungrateful*

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ungrateful shou'd we ever forget it. Her Ma-jesty was not long before she demonstrated what Gratitude is to be expected in a French Court. The Prince contributed to his own Ruin by his perpetual Opposition to the Cardinal's Counsels, and manag'd himself as if he intended to keep him always in a Dependence on him. He cou'd not suffer an Equal, nor the Cardinal a Superior, yet outwardly, he behav'd himself very submissive-ly, till the Prince was fast in the Snare he laid for him. A new occasion of Quarrel was the Prince's opposing the Marriage of his other Niece to the Duke of Candal, Son to the Duke of Epernon Goverrnour of Guienne, which Province was at variance with the Duke, and the Parliament of Bourdeaux demanded the Prince of Conde for Gover-nour, who declar'd for the Parliament so openly, that the Court believ'd he was engag'd in the Revolt of Guienne. And now the Prince joyn'd with the Frondeurs, pub-lickly declaring against the Cardinal; the Pretence was that Minister's refusal of the Government of Pont de Larche, promis'd the Duke of Longueville by the Treaty of Peace. This also reconcil'd him with his Relations, who were pleas'd to see him solicite his Brother-in-Law's Cause, and the Prince saw too late he acted impolitickly in breaking with his Brother and Sister. He avoided go-ing to Court, and said, *He wou'd go no more while*

while the Foreigner was there. The Cardinal to prevent his putting himself at the Head of the *Frondeurs*, protested he was ready to resign the Administration of Affairs, and leave France to please Monsieur the Prince, yet privately, set Men on the Prince to insinuate, that 'twas his Interest to be Friends with the Minister; that if he were out, the Marquess de Chateauneuf or the Coadjutor wou'd come in, who wou'd not be so much at his Devotion. He made other fair Profers to him, and promis'd to put the Duke of Longueville in possession of his Government; he engag'd never to talk more of his Niece's Marriage with the Duke of Mercaur, and wou'd, if he pleas'd, send his three Nieces out of the Kingdom. The Prince cou'd not resist these Temptations, and having joyn'd with the *Frondeurs*, only to make better Terms with the Cardinal, they were good Friends again in eight days time. The *Frondeurs* were so provok'd, that they complain'd aloud, and reproach'd him with breaking a former Treaty with them at Noisy, as well as this. The People were also set against him, and almost every Body left him that had before appear'd for him, while he was against the Cardinal. This Minister finding the Prince kept him under, resolv'd to deliver himself from such a servitude, yet endeavour'd to gain his Confidence by an entire submission to his Orders; he was  
pleas'd

pleas'd with his Rupture with the *Frondeurs*. He thought his best Support was in them fall'n off, and that he might easily compass his Design; yet being a true *Italian*, he counterfeited a while, he talk'd of nothing more than leaving Business and the Kingdom; he dispos'd of no Offices nor Governments without consulting the Prince, the Prince of *Conti*, the Duke and even the Dutchess of *Longueville*, to whom he deign'd to give an account of the Administration, even of the Finances. This management produc'd the effect he intended; the Prince fancy'd himself his Master, and in that Opinion let him do whatever he wou'd, while the Cardinal was contriving to execute the Plot he had form'd to arrest him. During this Difference between the Prince and the *Frondeurs*, an Accident happen'd which enrag'd him wonderfully against them, *Mazarine* order'd *Servient* to write a Billet to the Prince, informing him that the *Frondeurs* had a design on his Life, that there were arm'd Men on the *Pontneuf*, who waited his coming by to assassinate him. The Prince shew'd the Billet to the Queen, the Duke of *Orleans* and the Cardinal, who seem'd most surpriz'd. To know the Truth, he resolv'd to send his Coach and Servants as if he were in it. When the Coach drove by the Statue of the Horse in *Brafs*, some unknown Person fir'd a Muskettoon, which wounded the Count de

*Duras's*

Duras's Page behind it; he then did not question but the *Frondeurs* were the Authors of this Attempt, he presently demanded Justice of the King and Queen; the Cardinal seem'd extreamly concern'd at this Misfortune, and transported against the Conspirators. When the *Frondeurs* heard of it, they believ'd 'twas a Trick of the Prince and Cardinal to oppress them. However, they try'd all the fair ways they cou'd think of to justifie themselves; the Coadjutor and the Duke of *Beaufort*, both *Frondeurs*, strove to convince the Confidants of the Prince, and Madam de *Longueville*, that they were innocent, and the Marquels de *Nourmetier* offer'd in the name of the *Frondeurs*, still to joyn with the House of *Conde* against the Cardinal. But the Prince provok'd as much with them for charging him with breach of his Word at *Noisy*, as for their pretended Assassination, wou'd hearken to no accommodation. The Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Viscount de *Turenne*, in vain persuaded him to it, and gave him very good Reasons; he pray'd them both to say no more, if they were his Friends. He was advis'd by the Cardinal to petition for Justice, which he did, and the Minister had the malicious Pleasure to see him suppliant at the Feet of his Judges, as well as his Enemies, giving into all the Devices he invented to deceive him. The Prince soon found the Interest of the

*Frondeurs*

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*Frondeurs* was too powerful for him to overcome ; yet he wou'd not believe his Sister the Duchess of *Longueville*, and others, who mistrusted the Deceit of *Mazarine* in the business. He and his Friends, the *Frondeurs* and theirs, went every day to the Courts of Justice, and scarce one past without a Scuffle. The Cardinal thought 'twas now high time to accommodate his Quarrel with the *Frondeurs*, and the Prince soon gave him an occasion. He took the Duke de *Richelieu*, and the Marquise d' *Albret*, a Widow, to *Trie*, in his Coach, and had them marri'd in his Presence. The Duchess of *Aiguillon* design'd to Marry the Duke her Nephew, to one of the Cardinal's Nieces, and pretended to annul the Marriage. The Cardinal was enrag'd to the last degree at this Proceeding of the Princes, and presently set about his Intention of securing his Person. He prevail'd on the Queen to consent, and offer'd his Service to the *Frondeurs*, who accepted his offers, by the means of the Duchess of *Chevrense*, and the Coadjutor, who manag'd the Treaty, and the same Duchess gave the Duke of *Orleans* so many pretended causes of Jealousie and Fear, that she also dispos'd that Prince to agree that the Prince of *Conde* shou'd be Arrested. At the same time the Cardinal offer'd the Prince the Constables Sword, which he refus'd, that he might not cause the least Jealousie in the

the Duke of *Orleans*, yet that Minister improv'd the show of the Treaty to the ends he desir'd, and facilitated, by this means, the Duke of *Orleans's* consent to his imprisonment of the Prince. Thus stood Affairs in 1650. The Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville* had lately sworn to assist the Prince of *Conde* against all his Enemies, and the Prince had reciprocally engag'd to support them and their Interests. This being known to the Cardinal was the reason of his seizing the Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with the Prince of *Conde*. They had all of them timely notice of the Minister's Conspiracy; but the Court carry'd themselves so fair, they laught at those who gave them the Information. However, by persuasion of the Duke of *Longueville*, they went never together to Council, and the Prince was always accompany'd by his Friends. The 18. of January 1650. was the day set for the Execution of the Plot. The Prince had advice from several hands of it, and the Princess of *Conde* pray'd him not to go out that day; which however he did, and went to see the Cardinal in his Chamber, with the Marquess de *Lionne*, who wrote there the Order for Arresting him, his Brother, and his Brother-in-Law. The Cardinal receiv'd him with all possible demonstrations of sincere friendship, and the Prince complaining of the Rumour which was spread,

that

that he meant to ruin him. *Mazarin* assur'd him 'twas never in his Thoughts ; made him a thousand Protestations of Service, and an inviolable Zcal for his Interest; the Marquess *de Lianne* all the while writing Orders for Arresting him. The Prince confirm'd by those Professions in his Opinion of the Cardinals Integrity, fell into the Pit he was digging for him. The Cardinal told him in raillery he wou'd that day Sacrifice the *Frondeurs* to him, and that he had giv'n order to Arrest *des Coutures*, who headed the Rascals that attack'd his Coach ; but lest he might be rescu'd, he pray'd him to command the Guards to be set in proper places, which the Prince did, and in doing so gave orders for carrying himself to Prison. The Minister got the Duke of *Longueville* to Court, by informing him the Marquess *de Bevron's* Cause wou'd come on that day in Council, which Cause the Duke was interested in. In Jan. 1650. the Prince came to Court in an unusual manner, without his Friends, so little was he apprehensive of *Mazarin's* Treachery. The Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville* arriv'd there soon after him : they first went to the Queens Apartment, who was abed affecting to be sick ; they thence remov'd to the Council-Chamber. When *Mazarin* saw the three Brothers enter'd, he went out, saying he was oblig'd to leave them a moment, expecting the Duke of *Orleans.*

leans. He was no sooner gone forth than *de Cominges de Guitault*, Captain of the Queens Guards enter'd, and coming up respectfully to the Prince, whisper'd in his Ear in the Queens name, that he must go to Prison, and demanded his Sword. His Brother *John Baptist de Cominges* Complemented the Prince of *Conti* in the same civil manner, and *de Croissy* did as much to the Duke of *Longueville*. The Prince thought at first 'twas only a Frolick; but perceiving 'twas in earnest, he cri'd *Is this the reward of my Loyalty and Services.* He ask'd to see the Queen and the Cardinal, and neither of them wou'd see him. All which was no more than he ought to have expected, since such ungrateful Souls, as bad as they are, seldom care to be expos'd to the reproaches of those who have oblig'd them. *Guitault* fetch'd presently twenty Soldiers, desperate and compleatly arm'd, prepar'd, like their Captain, to commit any mischievous deed; and thus guarded, led the Princes into the Garden by the Back-Stairs. The Prince of *Conti* wou'd have made a noise, if the Prince had not calm'd his Transports; knowing 'twou'd be their ruin to resist. *Guitault* put 'em into one Coach, and then deliver'd them to the Count *de Moissans*, who waited with some of the Kings *Gens d' Arms*, to carry them to the Castle of *Vincennes*. In the way the Coach broke, and the Prince's Friends

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Friends might easily have rescu'd them, there being but sixteen *Gens d' Arms* with them. The President *Perault*, and the Prince of *Conde's* Papers were immediately seiz'd. The news was receiv'd by the *Parisians* with joy. The *Frondeurs* set the Citizens against the Prince of *Conde*, by putting them in mind of the mischief caus'd by him at the Siege of *Paris*. And the Mob made Bonfires for his confinement, as they did afterwards, with more reason, for his enlargement.

The Prince's Friends, in consultation at the *Hotel de Conde*, resolv'd to seize the Minister's Nieces, at *Val de Grace*, by way of Reprizal; but their Uncle remov'd them at the same time that the Princes were arrested. Some of them contented themselves with complaining, others withdrew into the Provinces to Arm for the Liberty of the Princes. The Duchess of *Longueville* retir'd to *Stenay* with *la Mousaye* the Gouvernour. The Viscount de *Turenne* met her there. The Duke of *Rochfoucault* retir'd to *Normandy*. *Marsin* in *Catalonia* was secur'd, and kept at *Perpignan*, till the Princes came forth of their Prison. The Duke of *Anguien* was confin'd to *Chantilly*, by order of the Court. The Duke of *Bouillon* got to *Turenne*, and the Count of *Tavannes* to *Burgundy*, to dispose the People to rise to free the Princes. The Cardinal, to justifie their Imprisonment, wrote to the Parliament, the King's Reasons,

which were the Prince's of Conde's attempts on the *Authority Royal*, and the Princes his Brethren for assisting him in them. His true Crime was his opposing Cardinal Mazarin's power, Dignifi'd with the Title of *Authority Royal*, and his marrying his three Nieces to the Dukes of *Mercœur*, *Candale*, and *Richelieu*. The Cardinal to secure himself, procur'd the Government of *Burgundy* for the Duke *de Vandoisme*. *Normandy* for the Count *de Saint Aignan*, and the Vice-Royalty of *Catalonis* for the Duke *de Mercœur*, Persons, who, provided they might be Tyrants in their Governments, were content to be Slaves to a Foreiner, every way inferior to them, unless 'twas in Dissimulation and Treachery. The Princes were ill us'd at *Vincennes* by *de Bar* their Keeper, a Creature of *Mazarins*, cruel and bloody by Nature. They were all three confin'd in one Chamber, a Guard always at the Door, and Soldiers in the Room to observe their Actions. The eight first days of their imprisonment they were kept so close, they heard nothing how their Affairs went; but their Friends at last out-witted *de Bar*, and for five months they corresponded by Letters, and agreed what Methods shou'd be taken to procure their Liberty. The Deportment of the Princes in Prison was very different. The Duke of *Longueville* was sullen, and seldom spoke; the Prince of *Conti* wept, and kept his Bed.

On the contrary, the Prince of Conde Sung, Swore, heard Mass, read Plays, *Italian* and *French*, Eat well, and play'd at Shuttlecock. Once as he was at play with *de Bar*'s eldest Son, who us'd to visit him, the Prince, to tempt his Fidelity, said they wou'd play for something ; *de Bar* askt him what he pleas'd it shou'd be for ? The Prince reply'd, a Batton of a Mareschal of *France* ; but *de Bar* either did not, or wou'd not understand him, and his Prisoner said no more.

The Count de Tavannes was the first who took Arms for the Prince, and wou'd have seiz'd Dijon in Burgundy his proper Government; yet, though his Domesticks were in the Castle, they refus'd to give him entrance. The Court coming towards that Province, he was compell'd to retire into Bellegard, where he surrendred on honourable Terms. Himself, the Dukes of Bouillon, and Rochefoucault, the Viscount de Turenne, and others of the Prince's Friends were declar'd by the Parliament guilty of High Treason. The Duchess of Longueville, before she got to Stenay, went into her Husband's Government of Normandy; where, on the approach of the King's Army, the Parliament of Roan, and the whole Province forsook her; so she past into Holland, and thence to Stenay. The Duke of Rochefoucault was in Dieppe with the Duchess of Longueville, when the Court came to Normandy:

he thence went to his Government of Poictou, and got together two thousand Horse and eight hundred Foot, most Gentry, for the Prince's Service. The Duke of Bouillon joyn'd him with fifteen hundred Men to meet the Princess of Conde, whom they met at a place call'd Bonne, and conducted her to Turenne. They offer'd Battel to the Chevalier Nogaret, who commanded the King's Army in Guyenne, but leaving his Baggage to the Dukes, the Chevalier retir'd to Bergerac. The Princess of Conde then made her Entry into Bourdeaux, and was receiv'd by the Parliament and the Jurats with Joy. The Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefaucault being Masters of the Field in Guyenne, the Cardinal first sent Mareschal de la Meilleraye, who was his Creature, with an Army to march against Bourdeaux, himself with the King and Court follow'd; Bourdeaux prepar'd for a vigorous Defence, and the Cruelty of Mazarine, who hang'd the Gouvernour of de Vaire, that surrender'd the Castle to the King, provok'd the Citizens rather than terrify'd them. That Minister stay'd fourteen days with the Army before Bourdeaux, and little Progress being made in the Siege, he return'd to the Court which he left at Bourg. The Frondeurs began to grow jealous of Mazarine's Greatness, and persuaded the Duke of Orleans to oblige the Cardinal to give Peace to Bourdeaux; the Parliament weary'd with

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with a long Siege, and the Court fearing their *Spanish Succours*, a Treaty was set on Foot, which was concluded on the following Terms, *That the King shoud be receiv'd into Bourdeaux. That the Troops which defended the City, might safely pass to Stenay. That the Privileges of the City and Parliament shou'd be maintain'd.* The Princess of Conde waited on him at *Bourg*, and threw herself at his Feet, and at the Queen's; praying for the Liberty of her Husband, but in vain. For *Lewis XIV.* though scarce twelve Years old, had already learnt to look on the Miserable with Pleasure, and not to be touch'd by their Tears or their Prayers. The Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rochefoucault* had several Conferences with *Mazarine* on the Subject of the Prince's enlargement. The *Frondeurs* and the Duke of *Orleans* being Jealous of these Conferences held without their knowledge or participation, began to distrust him again, and to think of reuniting with the Princes to ruin him. The Viscount de *Turenne* cou'd do nothing at *Stenay* towards the Liberty of the Princes for want of Men, so he demanded assistance of the *Spaniards*, who readily came to assist him; he put himself at their Head, and increasing his force with other Troops of the Prince of *Conde's*, he enter'd *Picardy*. The Viscount taking advantage of the Cardinal's absence, enter'd farther into *France*, took *La*

*Chapelle* and *Rhetel*, and then resolv'd to march directly to *Vincennes* to deliver the Princes; he advanc'd as far as *La Ferte Melon* with two thousand Horse, but on the rumour of their approach, the Princes were remov'd. The *Frondeurs* were for putting them into the *Bastile*, *Broussell* was Governor, and *Le Tellier*, a Creature of the Cardinal's, thought they wou'd be too much in the Power of the Parliament there, he advis'd to carry them to *Havre-de-Grace*. The *Frondeurs* were loth to trust them with the Cardinal who was Master of the place, and propos'd the Castles of *Pontoise* and *St. Germain en Laye*, which the Minister's Faction wou'd not consent to. The Duke of *Orleans* had not hitherto troubled himself in the matter, and shew'd himself indifferent, till the News of Monsieur de *Turenne*'s arrival at *La Ferte Melon* alarm'd him, he then gave Orders to remove them to the Castle of *Marcoussy*; the Count de *Tavannes* had form'd a Design to rescue them in their removal, and the Duke de *Nemours* was in the Plot by the persuasions of the Dutchess of *Chatillon*, who favour'd the Prince of *Conde* for Interest, and the Duke de *Nemours* for Love. The Duke of *Orleans* sent so strong a Guard with them to *Marcoussy*, that the Princes Friends cou'd not attempt to execute their Design. They had contriv'd their escape at *Vincennes*, had not one of the Conspiracy betray'd them. Forty

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out of two hundred Soldiers which were their Guard were brib'd, who were to secure *de Bar* at Church, then to kill the Guards on duty, both without and within the Princes Chamber, while the Princes got over the Castle-Walls, where a Troop of Horse was to receive them. The Viscount *de Turenne* hearing the Princes were carry'd to *Havre-de-Grace*, return'd with his Horse to the Arch-Duke. *Mazarine* came to *Paris* as soon as he heard of the Viscount's approach, the *Frondeurs*, already jealous of him, were provok'd by his proud behaviour, now he thought himself secure. The Princes before their removal from *Marcoussy* to *Havre-de-Grace*, had plotted with their Friends to escape thence, but this Plot was also discover'd by the Conspirators being over-heard to say, *We must go to Marcoussy, and deliver those unfortunate Illustrious Persons.* These words were told to the Duke of *Orleans*, who wrote to *de Bar* to double his Guards, he added three to the seven Guards in their Anti-Chamber, and the Princes judging by that they were discover'd, gave over their present Contrivances to escape. In the mean time Mareschal *de Plessis* retook *Rhetel*, and defeated the Viscount *de Turenne*, the Count *de Bouteville* being taken Prisoner in the Battel of *Saumepius*, and two thousand *Spaniards* kill'd; this Count was the Dutchess of *Chatillon*'s Brother, since famous, by the Name

Name of the Duke of *Luxemburg*. The Event prov'd that *Mazarine* lost more by the Victory than he cou'd have done by a Defeat, for the *Frondeurs* seeing he did not want them any longer, consulted to destroy him. The Coadjutor, and the Dutchesse of *Chevrenuse* engag'd the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princes having notice of what was then afoot, promis'd to agree to every thing. The *Frondeurs* demanded in general, that the Princes shou'd joyn with them in outing the Cardinal, and forget their last Quarrels ; the Dutchesse of *Chevrenuse* wou'd have the Prince of *Conti* marry her Daughter, the Duke of *Beaufort* the Admirals's place, the Coadjutor a Cardinal's-Cap ; and the Duke of *Orleans*, that the Duke of *Anguien* shou'd marry *Mademoiselle d' Alencon* his third Daughter. The Princes sent their full Powers to the Princes *Palatine*, the 16th. of January 1651. and the Treaty being concluded on, was sign'd by both Parties. *Mazarine* believ'd the *Frondeurs* and the Dutchesse of *Chevrenuse* affected to appear his Enemies to deceive the People, and was thus himself deceiv'd. The Duke of *Orleans* fell out with him for comparing the Parliament to that of *England*, which had lately put their King to death. The Parliament was animated against him by the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Coadjutor, who told them what the Cardinal said. The Queen now endeavour'd in vain to bring off the

the Duke, who said he wou'd come no more to Court till the Cardinal was banish'd and the Princes were at Liberty. The Parliament also petition'd the Queen to free them, who gave them a dilatory Answer, yet to amuse them, sent the Mareschal de Grammont, and the Marques de Lionne to Havre-de-Grace. The Frondeurs staid some time to hear what they had done, and then petition'd again. The Parisians arm'd to hinder the King's going from Paris, and to defend the Parliament. Mazarine withdrew in disguise, convey'd off by the Count d' Harcourt, who at the same time that he pretended to the Name of a Prince, was the most abject Slave of the Favourites, and deserv'd the usage he met with from the Prince of Conde, who for an Affront can'd him. His Retreat did not satisfie the Frondeurs and the Duke of Orleans, they demand a third time the Princes Liberty, for which, at last, the Queen issu'd out her Orders, and they were given to the Duke de la Rochefaucault to carry them to Havre-de-Grace, and Cominge, who hop'd for this Service, to atone for his arresting them. The Cardinal receiv'd a Letter from the Queen to do what he pleas'd with the Princes, notwithstanding those Orders, and he travell'd all Night to arrive at Havre-de-Grace before the Court Deputies, that the Princes might be oblig'd to him for their Liberty. He immediately on

on his arrival deliver'd to *de Bar* the Queen's Letter, which commanded him to follow the Cardinal's Directions, as to the Freedom of the Princes; he then enter'd their Chamber, and having saluted them, spoke thus; *I come, Sirs, from the Queen, to set you at Liberty without any Condition. Her Majesty only prays you to Love the State, the King and herself.* He then ask'd them to be his Friends, adding in a tone more haughtily, *They were free to give him their Friendship or to refuse it.* The Prince of Conde in the Name of all reply'd, *They were oblig'd to her Majesty for the Justice she did them, and wou'd always serve the King, the Queen, and himself also.* Embracing the Cardinal; they took a short repast together, and went into the Maresc *de Grammont's* Coach which waited for them at the Gate. *Feb. 1. 1651.* the Cardinal had a private Conference with the Prince, and when he was going into the Coach, embrac'd his Knees, but the Prince took no manner of notice of him. The Princes were met by an innumerable Crowd of People of all Qualities at *Pontoise*, where the Count *de Tavannes* and others of their faithful Friends were arriv'd before them. The Duke of *Orleans* met the Prince of Conde near St. *Denis*, and ran hastily to embrace him, professing he never before felt so much Joy, nor did an Action which pleas'd him more. The Prince answer'd him as the Author of his Liberty, and afterwards

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wards complemented the Duke of *Beaufort* and the Coadjutor, being then conducted to the Palace-Royal through the Shouts of the People, who two Months before made Bonfires for his Imprisonment. The King, the Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou* were there with only the Officers of the Household, and the Prince of *Conde* was receiv'd as a Man that was rather in a Condition to grant Favours than to demand them. If the Prince had improv'd this Opportunity, he might easily have prevail'd with the Parliament to have turn'd the Queen out of her Regency, and put the Duke of *Orleans* in her place, but whether he was so transported with his Liberty, he cou'd think of nothing else, or that he fear'd the Duke wou'd be entirely govern'd by the *Frondeurs*, or inclin'd to enjoy the sweets of his Freedom for some time, he mist this fair occasion which no more presented.

The next day he went with his Brother to the Parliament, the Duke of *Orleans* accompany'd him, and made a Speech to that Body, telling them, 'He hop'd his Cousins wou'd contribute to remedying the disorders in the Kingdom. The Prince thank'd him for his Generosity, and then spoke to the Parliament, ' Assuring them, he shou'd never forget his Obligation to all of them in general, and each of them in particular. The first President return'd their Complements, and

and the Prince with all his Followers were declar'd Innocent. They past a Decree to banish the Cardinal, and the Queen advis'd him to be gone, or all was lost. He wander'd up and down the Frontiers, till he was declar'd a *Traytor, a Disturber of the Publick Quiet, and an Enemy of France, all of that Nation were forbidden to have any Communication with him, and commanded to fall on him wherever they found him in the Kingdom.* So the Favourite retir'd into the Electorate of Cologne, to be at hand if the Face of his Affairs shou'd change, which he expected with impatience. The Prince's Fortune was now at the height, yet he lost presently this fair Occasion, by quarrelling with the *Frondeurs*, and with his best Friends, by his Enterprizes against the publick Peace, of which he was convinc'd himself too late, and said on his return to France by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, *That he went into Prison the most innocent Man, and came out the most guilty.* The Queen to gain the Prince, apply'd to the Princess *Palatine*, and desir'd her to demand of him what he expected for himself and his Friends. The Princess at the same time offer'd several Advantages from her Majesty, and at last he consented to treat privately with *Messieurs Servient and Lionne*, at the Princess *Palatine's*. The Duke of *Rochefoucault* was present, and the Prince of *Conti*, and Dutches of *Longueville* consented to the Nego-

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Negotiation. The Prince of Conde was to have *Guienne*, the Prince of *Conti*, *Provence*, and the Duke of *Rochefoucault* the Government of *Blaye*, but of the last the Court desir'd time to consider, or rather to know *Mazarine's* Opinion who govern'd all things, though he was out of the Kingdom. On these Conditions the Prince agreed, only not to oppose the Cardinal's return, if the Queen cou'd effect it. The Prince of Conde seeing the Treaty with the Queen in such forwardness, broke off the Marriage of the Prince of *Conti* and *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*. The *Frondeurs* press'd earnestly for it, the Prince's pretence to delay it was for want of a Dispensation from *Rome* on account of their Relation, but he soon declar'd openly against it, and rail'd so much at *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse* and her Family, that his Brother wou'd hear no more of that Alliance. The Seals were given to the President *Mole*, the Prince of Conde's Friend, at which the Coadjutor and the *Frondeurs* were so enrag'd, that they held a Council, whether they shou'd not presently go to the Palace-Royal and take them from him, and arm the People to defend that Violence; this Council was held at the Duke of *Orleans's*, where the Prince of Conde was, and having heard the Coadjutor's Propositions, he oppos'd them, adding merrily, *He was not brave enough to expose himself to a War that wou'd be carry'd on with Stones*

Stones

*Stones and with Chamber-Pots.* The *Frondeurs* were nettled with this raillery and began to suspect he had a Treaty on Foot with the Court, which with the breach of his Agreement with them, and the Dutchesse of *Cheveruse*, renew'd their ancient Animosity, and they again abandon'd his Interests; which the Queen perceiving, did not think it now in his Power to prevent her Designs, and was not so ready to oblige him as before. The Queen wou'd not agree to part with the Government of *Blaye*, and the Prince persuaded by *Chavigny*, broke off the Treaty with *Messieurs Servient* and, *Lionne*, against the Advice of the Dutchesse of *Longueville*, the Princess *Palatine*, and the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *Rochefoucault*. The Prince fearing to fall into the same Misfortune as before, was driven on by some hot Men to a Rupture with the Court. He then sent the Marques *de Sillery* into *Flanders*, under pretence of disengaging the Dutchesse of *Longueville* and the Viscount *de Turenne* from their Obligations to the *Spaniards*; tho' his Business was to make a new Treaty with the Governour the Count *de Fuensaldaigne*. The Governour promis'd more than was requir'd to engage the Prince to take Arms. The Queen on the other side joyn'd with the *Frondeurs*, whom the Coadjutor had persuaded to this Union, being promis'd a Cardinal's-Cap by her Majsty. Both Parties

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saw their Safety consisted in destroying the Prince, some were for killing him, which the Queen wou'd not hear of; others for Imprisoning, and about this several Consultations were held at the Count *de Bourdeilles*; *Lyonne* discover'd this Conspiracy to the Mareschal *de Grammont*; and the Mareschal told it to *Chavigny*, yet made him first swear not to reveal it, and *Chavigny* gave notice of it to the Prince, who wou'd not believe it at first, considering the People were yet for him; that he had in his Court a great Number of Officers of the Army, of his Troops, his Domesticks and his particular Friends; he thought, 'twas rumour'd about to oblige him to leave *Paris*. However, he resolv'd to go no more to the *Louvre*, and soon after retir'd to *St. Maur*, a Countrey-House near *Paris*, where the Princess of *Conde*, the Prince of *Conti*, and the Dutchesse of *Longueville* came to him, and were follow'd by so many Persons of Quality, that his Court was as Great and as Gallant as the King's. The Prince wrote to the Parliament and to the Duke of *Orleans*, giving them the Reasons of his Retreat, and publish'd his *Manifesto* the 6th. of July 1651. in which he declares, That the Conspiracies of his Enemies against his Person, were the only motive of his leaving *Paris*, that the doubling the Guards the Night he came away gave him good Cause to provide for his Safety

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by a timely Retreat. The Queen sent the Mareschal de Grammont to St. Maur, to demand the cause of his Retirement, to solicit his return to Paris, and promise him all the Safety he cou'd desire. The Prince wou'd have no particular Conference with the Mareschal, only told him, ' That Mazarine still rul'd at Court, and having been once imprison'd by the Injustice of that Out-Law, he cou'd not resolve to venture a second time, that Le Tellier, Servient and Lionne, were the Cardinal's Creatures, and he knew they had conspir'd to seize him. The Mareschal who hop'd to have been the Instrument of some Negotiation between the Prince and the Court, was oblig'd to leave him without doing any thing; yet the Prince was not willing to push things to extremity, and when some of his Friends urg'd him to a War, he said, ' They wou'd drive him on a dangerous Enterprize, wherein he fore-saw they wou'd not follow him, as it prov'd in the end. However, to please them he sent the Count de Tavannes to head his Troops, which drew together at Marle in Picardy. He provided the fortify'd Towns with all things necessary, and rais'd two hundred thousand Crowns to prepare for War, though he had not positively resolv'd on it. The Duke of Orleans had several Conferences with the Prince between St. Maur and Paris; he complain'd to the

Duke

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Duke of *Le Tellier*, *Servient* and *Lionne*, *Mazarine's Creatures*, and desir'd they might be excluded the Council; the Duke was of the same Opinion, and engag'd the Parliament to petition the Queen for their removal, which was agreed to. The Prince, after he had sent the Princess his Wife, the Duke of *Anguien* and the Dutchesse of *Longueville* to *Montrond*, went to *Paris*, resolving thence to go into *Guienne*, where the People were dispos'd to receive him. The *Frondeurs* were not now so belov'd by the *Parisians* as formerly; the Citizens perceiving their hatred to the Cardinal, was no longer the Ground of their Discontent. The Prince engag'd as many Persons of Quality as he cou'd in his Party, and attempted to draw off the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Viscount *de Turenne* from the Court Faction, but his Civilities to them came too late, and both these Princes cou'd not be again persuaded to side with him, who had so ill return'd the Services they render'd him in the last Rupture, as to neglect them and their Friends during the short time of his Power after his Liberty. The King and the Queen-Mother, receiv'd him so coldly at Court, he vow'd he wou'd come there no more, and never did till after the *Pyrenean Treaty*. Every body now believ'd what was reported of him, that he corresponded with the Enemies of the State. The first President charg'd him with it in Parlia-

ment. The Prince of *Conti* rose and said, ‘ His Brother aim’d at nothing but the Glory and Peace of the Kingdom.’ This Answer of the Prince was lookt on as too bold by that Body, and the Queen to improve their Hatred of the Prince of *Conde*, sent the Count *de Brienne* Secretary of State, with her Complaints against him, who read them in the Assembly before the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conti*. The Paper contain’d an Account of the Prince’s Correspondence with the Spaniards, his allowing his Troops to plunder *Picardy* and *Champaign*, his talking against the Government under pretence of accusing Cardinal *Mazarine*, against whom her Majesty had confirm’d so many Decrees that there were no hopes of his returning to *France*; his Fortifying his Towns and Preparations for War. There was not one present who did dare to vindicate him, only the Prince of *Conti* said, *All of it was an Artifice of his Brother’s Enemies, which might be easily confuted.* And the long-design’d Marriage of the Duke of *Merœur* to the Cardinal’s Niece *Laura* happening about this time, the Parliament were ready enough to believe any thing in Justification of the Prince against *Mazarine*, with whom they were much offended for this Marriage. The Prince of *Conde* presented a Declaration, written with the Duke of *Orleans*’s own hand, which set forth to the Parliament, ‘ That his Troop-

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were kept up in *Picardy* by the Duke of *Orleans's* Consent, that he had turn'd out *La Ferte Seneterre*, *Mazarine's* Tool, and given the Command to the Sieur *Valens*, and that the Charge of his Corresponding with Foreigners was invented to prevail with the Assembly to declare him guilty of High-Treason. The Prince publish'd a *Manifesto* which clear'd his Innocence, and the Parliament's ill Impressions of him being worn off, he went himself to the *Palais* to demand Justice of his Accusers.

Both sides were apprehensive of the Danger they were about to run, and the Prince when he left *Paris*, stay'd a whole day at the President *Pernault* at *Argerville*, expecting what the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd propose to him, but he that was to bring the Proposals from Court, which the Duke of *Orleans* had procur'd, instead of going to *Argerville en Gastinois*, went to *Argerville en Beausse*, which mistake perhaps was the cause of the future Troubles. For the Man meeting the Prince at *Bourges*, where he was receiv'd joyfully by the Gentry and the people, he refus'd to hearken to the Queen's Offers. He went forward to *Montrond*, where the Princess his Wife, and the Dukes of *Longueville* expected him; he sent *Aigny* to treat with the Spaniards, gave the Prince of *Conti* and the Duke de *Nemours* Money to raise Men, and Orders to seize

the Customs of Berry and the Bourbonnois. From Montrond he went to Bourdeaux, passing by Farnac, where Lewis I. Prince of Conde ended his days. The Parliament and Citizens shew'd extraordinary Joy at his arrival, and the former issu'd out what Orders and Decrees he pleas'd ; he visited the places of this Province, and made use of the King's Revenues throughout Guienne. The Count de Doignon Governour of Brouage, Re, Oleron and Rochelle, the Duke of Richlieu, the Marquess de la Force, and the Prince of Tarentum embrac'd his Party, and the Spaniards prepar'd to assist him. He courted Oliver Cromwell to send him Succours, but this Politician saw his Projects were ill concerted, and not likely to succeed, and for this Reason, he wou'd not engage the People of England in a hazardous Enterprize. The 27th. of Sept. the King with his Court march'd forth from Paris at the Head of his Army, commanded by the Count d' Harcourt ; Bourges open'd its Gates, notwithstanding the reception it gave the Prince of Conde ; the King proclaim'd the Prince and his Adherents Traytors, which the Parliament did not decree till two Months after. The Prince of Conde wrote them a Letter against Mazarine, which the Assembly wou'd not read, but sent it to the King. The Prince was in a good state of Defence, the Spanish Fleet was arriv'd in the River of Bourdeaux,

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he fortify'd *Tallemont*, where he had a Body of fifteen hundred Foot. The Prince of *Tarentum* held *Saintes* and *Tailleburg*, by which means he was Master of the River as far as *Angoule*, excepting *Cognac*, which he besieg'd; the Gouvernour promis'd to deliver it up, and had done it, had not the Gentry who retir'd out of the Country into the Town, forc'd the Townsmen to resist, and observ'd the Gouvernour narrowly. The Count *d' Harcourt* compell'd the Prince to raise the Siege, yet suffer'd him to draw off unmolested. *Harcourt* went thence to *Rochelle*, which he reduc'd by means of the Inhabitants, murder'd *Basse* the Prince's Gouvernour of the Towers that were surrendred by the Swiss Garrison. The Duke of *Nemours* was sent by the Prince into *Flanders* to command his Army there, design'd for the Viscount *de Turenne*, who had deserted the common Cause. The Mareschals *de la Ferte* and *d' Hocquincourt* were order'd to meet the Cardinal at *Sedan*, where he arriv'd about this time with six thousand Foreiners. The Parliament publish'd an Order, forbidding all manner of Persons to contribute towards, or permit his return. The Duke of *Orleans* declar'd also for the Prince, and sent *Fontrilles* to assure him, the Parliament wou'd joyn with him in opposing the return of *Mazarine*. Count *Marfin* increas'd his Joy, by bringing him a thousand Foot, and three

hundred Horse, the best Troops out of the Army he commanded in *Catalonia*. The 16th. of January 1652. the Cardinal came to *Poitiers*, where the Court then was, and the King met and receiv'd him very affectionately; his return increas'd the Prince's Party, and it has been said, the Prince himself oblig'd *Gourville* to advise him to enter again into *France* and the Ministry. No sooner was his return known at *Paris*, than the Duke of *Orleans*, the City, the Parliament and the *Frondeurs* declar'd openly for the Prince of *Conde*. New Decrees and Ordinances were publish'd against *Mazarine*, his Estate and his Goods were confiscated, his Library, one of the finest in *Europe*, sold by Auction, and a Price set upon his Head. The Duke of *Beaufort* took the Field with the Duke of *Orleans*'s Army to make a diversion for the King's: The Duke of *Rohan* came into the Prince's Interest, and deliver'd him the City of *Angers*, which Town was soon retaken by the King's Forces. Thus stood Affairs when the Prince parted from *La Bergerie* near *Tonay-Charente* to *Bernette*, and thence to *Talmont*, from whence he proceeded to St. *Andras*, where the Count de *Harcourt* over-took him, and might have forc'd him to a Combat, the Prince owing his Escape more to his Enemies caution, than his own. *Harcourt* follow'd him no farther, the Prince of *Conde* march'd to the Relief of

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the Prince of *Conti* at *Staffort* in danger of being attack'd by St. *Luc*. This Marquess was at *Miradonx*, the Prince fell on him in his Quarters and routed six Regiments of Foot, took a great part of their Baggage and many Prisoners; he pursu'd St. *Luc* to *Leytoure*, and in vain attempted to draw the City of *Mantauban* into his Party; this Protestant Town was true to the King, tho' their Liberty, their Estates, and their Religion might have been secur'd by their Revolt; for the Parliament of *Tholouse* were resolv'd to joyn with the Male-Contents, and to engage the Province of *Languedoc*, had not this City kept them in awe; St. *Luc* got into the place after his defeat. The Prince summon'd the Town, and set forth to the People the great Services done them and the Protestant Cause by his Ancestors, ' That he wou'd do as much for them, and be as careful of their Rights and Liberties. To this the Inhabitants only answer'd, ' That they were resolv'd to sacrifice their Lives rather than their Allegiance to their Sovereign. The Prince finding he cou'd not prevail on them, fortify'd and garrison'd *Moissac*, which the Citizens of *Mantauban* surpriz'd and reduc'd to Obedience. In all this War the Protestants refus'd to take Arms for the Prince of *Conde*, which Lewis XIV. witnessess by his Declaration in their Favour of the 21st. of May, 1652. dated at St. *Germains en Laye*,

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in consideration of the Proofs they gave of their Loyalty and Affection to his Government. How well he has fulfill'd his Promises and observ'd his Edicts, we have seen in our Days, and in our Nation, where a hundred thousand Souls, once his Subjects, are now suffering the misery of Want and Exile, by his breach of Word and his Ingratitude, which has distinguish'd his Character, much more than his Victories and his Conquests. The King thank'd the City of *Mantauban* for their Loyalty, and the Prince besieгd *Miradoux*, but the Count de *Harcourt* march'd to relieve the place. The Prince push'd forward the Siege, yet cou'd not be Master of it in time, and having not Forces enough to fight the Count de *Harcourt*, he retir'd to *Staffort*; and the Count attack'd his Quarters on the side of *Anvillars*, where the Prince's Men being commanded by new Officers, were not so much upon their Guard as they wou'd have been, had they obey'd their General's Commands. Those who had fled from *Harcourt* brought him the News of his Attack; he presently mounted and, accompany'd with the Count de *Marsin*, the Duke de *la Rochefoucault*, and the Marquess de *Montespan*, order'd his Cavalry to mount, and to joyn the Infantry under the Cannon of *Staffort*, and thence to retreat to *Agen*. In this disorder the Count de *Harcourt* must certainly have defeated him, had he charg'd him

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him as he past the *Garonne*, but this Officer knew no better how to improve this Opportunity than he had done that of St. *Andras*. The Prince had notice that the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Beaufort* had joyn'd their Armies at *Mants*; they were together ten thousand Men, and the Court had no more than four or five thousand, and those in an ill condition to resist them. The Prince heard of the Quarrels of those two Generals, and knowing how fatal they were to his Interest, he resolv'd to cross the Country, and go himself to that Army: he was the more willing to do so, because he perceiv'd the Gentry of *Guienne* grew weary of the War, and he cou'd not keep his Ground longer. He chose the Duke of *Rochefoucault* for his Companion, and left Count *Marfin* with the Prince of *Conti* to manage his Affairs in *Guienne*. He sent for his Brother to *Agen*, to give him necessary Instructions, and seeing 'twas of absolute necessity for him that the Army on the *Seine* shou'd be headed by himself in Person; he prepar'd for his Journey. He was to go three hundred and sixty Miles through Provinces and Places where he was sure to be arrested, if he were known; besides, the Count *de Harcourt* might be inform'd of his departure and intercept him; to deceive the Count, he gave out, that he wou'd go to *Bourdeaux* for two or three Days, leaving the Prince of *Conti* at

at *Agen* to amuse the Army and the Officers, who might else suspect his departure.

Thus, with only the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, the Prince of *Marssillac*, *Guitault*, *Chavignac*, *Gourville* and a *Valet-de-Chambre* in his company, he left *Agen*, and parted for *Languais*, where the Marquess de *Leui* waited for him: who had a Passport from the Count de *Harcourt* to retire into *Auvergne*, and the Prince with his Companions under false Names, were enter'd to travel as his Domesticks. At *Languais* they took the Road to *Auvergne*, travelling Night and Day, and staying no more than two Hours in a place to Eat or Sleep. In *Auvergne* he lodg'd at a Relation of the Marquess of *Leuis* two or three Days, and Count de *Bussy* to favour his passing the *Loire*, drew off the Garrison from *Le Bec d' Allier*, where the Prince past the River. He left the High-Road, that he might go undiscover'd, but meeting two Scouts belonging to *Turenne's* Army, one of them knew *Guitault*, and suspected the Prince was not far, so he seiz'd on the *Valet* behind, and putting his Sword to his Breast, made him confess the Truth. The Prince imagining the Scout wou'd carry News to Court of his March, left *Bercenes* Captain of the Duke of *Rochefoucault's* Guards, whom he found in *Auvergne*, to kill him, if the Man offer'd to pass a Bridge which led to *Gien*, where the King was, and he himself took

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the way to *Chatillon*. The Scout by good Fortune past another way, and the Court being advis'd by him of the Prince's approach, order'd St. *Maure* with twenty Horse to watch on the Road between *Chatillon* and the Army under the Duke of *Nemours*, commanding him to take the Prince dead or alive. He had no other way to save himself but to double his March towards *Chatillon*, yet having travell'd that Day thirty five Leagues on the same Horses, he and his Company were forc'd to bait so often, they lost time, and by this, St. *Maure* might easily have come up with him. The Prince however, arriv'd safely at *Chatillon*, learnt the Duke of *Nemours*'s Army was at *Lori*, eight Leagues off, and at mid-night he part-ed to joyn it, fearing to stay longer, there being in *Chatillon* some Officers, and a Par-t-y of the King's Guards. The Guide he took with him expos'd him to a second Peril greater than the former, for having travell'd a long time, he found at last he was not a-bove two Miles from *Gien*, where the Court lay, and he past within thirty Yards of the place where St. *Maure* waited for him, whe-ther that Officer durst not attack him, or indeed, did not discover him, he got in safety to *Lori*; his Army was two Leagues off, and he was known by several in the Town, Domesticks to the King, and Depen-dants on the Cardinal, yet none of them stop'd

stop'd him; on the contrary some of them mounted on Horse-back and accompanied him to the Camp, some Scouts ask'd them who they were for, but one of them who was of his Regiment knew him, and 'tis not to be express'd how great the Joy of the whole Army was at this agreeable Surprise.

They never stood more in need of his presence through the division of the Generals. He immediately broke up from *Lory*, and *Montargis* surrender'd on his approach, without resistance; he staid there two days, and then proceeded to Castle *Renard*, where he receiv'd advice that the Mareschal *de Hoquincourt* was quarter'd in the Neighbourhood, and was on the morrow to be join'd by the Viscount *de Turenne*. He fell on his Quarters, and easily routed him. The Prince of *Conde* after this past a River with an hundred Horse, and was attack'd by the Mareschal with eight hundred, before the rest cou'd get over the passages, most of the General Officers, the Dukes of *Nemours*, *Beaufort*, *Rochfoucault*, the Prince of *Marsillac*, the Marques of *Clinchant*, and the Count *de Tavannes* fought by his side. His Troops were at first disorder'd, but eighty Horse more coming up, he put himself at their Head, and charg'd *de Hoquincourt* in Flanck, while the Duke of *Beaufort* ralli'd those who gave ground, and attack'd 'em in Front.

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The Mareschal resisted some time, and in the end fled, leaving his Baggage, three hundred Men dead, and many Prisoners behind him. The news of this defeat threw the Court at *Gien* into great Consternation. The King and Cardinal ran away in hast to *Bourges*, ordering the Bridge over the *Loire* to be broken down, that the Prince might not follow them, which he design'd; But the Viscount *de Turenne* advanc'd, and drew up in Battalia at *Briare*, and while the Prince's Foot were scatter'd up and down for Plunder, the Viscount got together a sufficient Body of Troops to oppose him. His Officers were for retiring from a victorious Army, and *Turenne* had done it, if, as he said, it wou'd not have been a discredit to the King's Arms. He therefore advanc'd to a spacious Plain, bounded on all sides by a vast Wood, and drew up his Army in Battalia, in a place by which the Prince must pass. The Prince commanded six Squadrons to pass the Defiles, which the Viscount fac'd with his Sword in his Hand, to drive 'em back, and the Prince unwilling to engage now, order'd the Squadrons to return to the Army. They Cannonaded each other, and the Viscount retir'd towards *Gien*, having the advantage of the Ground, that the Enemy cou'd not see him draw off. The Prince had an Interview with the Mareschal *Houquincourt*, who brought up the Rear, and ralli'd

ralli'd the Mareschal on what had past between 'em. *Houquin court* reply'd he need not be ashame'd of flying, since the Viscount *de Turenne* did the same. The Prince tempted him to abandon the Court-Interest, and cou'd he have paid down the Money the Mareschal demanded, he might have bought him off. Two days after the retreat of the Kings Army, he posted his own at *Chatillon* upon the *Loire*, and leaving the Command with *Clinhant* and *Tavannes*, went to *Paris*, accompani'd by the Dukes of *Beaufort* and *Rochefoucault*. *Chavigny* inform'd him that the Coadjutor, now the Cardinal *de Rets*, his Enemy, got ground in the opinion of the Duke of *Orleans*, and Monsieur *de Rohan* gave him the same advice. All *Paris* shew'd unusual joy at his Presence, and nothing was heard but Curses against the Cardinal, and Praises of the Prince of *Conde*. The Clergy as well as Laity beheld him as their Guardian Angel. The Prince lost their favour by a mock Treaty with the Court, which the Cardinal discover'd to the *Parishans*, and they never after car'd to trust him. He went to the Parliament, and with him the Duke of *Orleans*, where they deliver'd a Declaration that they wou'd never lay down Arms while *Mazarin* was in the Kingdom. The Court approach'd nearer to *Paris* to prevent the Cities declaring openly for him, and a few days after the Prince's Ar-

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my march'd to *Eftampes*, where there was plenty of Provision. The King's Troops committed great Spoil in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, which City some persons about him advis'd the King to besiege, but *Mazarine* fearing the Parliament wou'd impute it to his Counsel, oppos'd that design. The Viscount *de Turenne* sent three hundred Horse after the Count *de Moissans*, to drive an hundred Men of the Regiment of *Conde*, from the Bridge of *St. Cloud*. The Prince hearing of his Intentions mounted, and being attended with eight thousand Citizens, and met by several Persons of Quality in the Wood of *Boulogne*, march'd to support his Men at that Pass. The Count *de Moissans* seeing this, fir'd two pieces of Cannon on those who guarded the Bridge, and retir'd without attempting to make himself Master of it. The Prince of *Conde* to improve the good Disposition of the Citizens, attack'd *St. Dennis*. There were at that time two hundred *Swiss* in Garrison, and they no sooner made their first Charge, than three hundred of the Prince's Men, near his own Person, abandon'd him. The Foot terrifi'd by the retreat of the Horse, most part of 'em Gentlemen, began also to be in disorder. The Prince ralli'd, and made them enter the Town by several Breaches that were not defensible. The Gentlemen now return'd confounded with Shame, and the *Swiss* were driv'n

to the Abbey, where they surrender'd themselves Prisoners of War. The King's Army retook the Town three hours after. The Forces were prest by the Viscount *de Turenne* in their Quarters at *Eftampes*, where he attack'd them as they were on review before the Duke of *Orleans*'s eldest Daughter, who past through that Town in her Journey to *Paris*. The Prince demanded help of the *Spaniard* to drive the King's Army from before *Eftampes*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* with five thousand Horse and four thousand Foot march'd to his assistance, though he only enter'd *France* to get Money out of the Court, who brib'd him to leave the Kingdom for a considerable sum, and on condition the Viscount *de Turenne* shou'd raise the Siege of *Eftampes*. The Prince resolv'd to put himself at the Head of his Troops, and with fifteen Horse only travers'd the Country, expos'd to the danger of meeting several Parties of the Enemy. He arriv'd happily, and led his Men to *St. Cloud*, he repair'd the Bridge, and his long stay in the Neighbourhood offended the *Parisians*, for his Soldiers not being well paid, 'twas impossible to keep 'em in exact Discipline. The Mareschal *de la Fertes* marching to strenthen Monsieur *de Turenne*'s Army, with the Troops in *Lorrain*, was the reason the latter did not fall on the Prince at *St. Cloud*. *Mademoiselle d' Orleans* rais'd Forces, and lent Money for the Prince's

Service,

Service, which encourag'd him to continue the War, and as the Duke of *Rocheſoucault* says in his Memoirs, he threw himself afterwards into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, by an affection to resemble the Duke of *Lorrain* in his Exile, as in every thing else. After *la Ferte's* arrival, the Court resolv'd to attack the Prince. The Mareschal laid a Bridge over the River near *St. Denis*, and the Viscount *de Turenne* past it near *Croiffy*, to fall on the Malecontents another way. The Prince decamp'd in the evening, and march'd to the Suburbs of *St. Antony*, hoping to get into the Road of *Charenton*. The City of *Paris* might have sav'd him if they wou'd have open'd their Gates, which he durst not desire, fearing to be refus'd. The Viscount *de Turenne*, at five a Clock in the morning, the 1. of *July*, came up with the Prince's Rear, and though the Mareschal *de la Ferté* was not yet come up, prepar'd all things to attack him. The Viscount and *Mazarin* being sure of Victory, the latter carry'd the King to see the Skirmish on an Eminence near *Charonne*. *Turenne* began to charge the Rear of the Malecontents on a rising ground in the Suburb of *St. Martin*. The Prince finding 'twas impossible for him to reach *Charenton*, halted with his Van in the Suburbs of *St. Antony*, and dispos'd his Army for the Combat. He made use of an Intrenchment which the *Parisians* had

thrown up in that place, to defend themselves from the Duke of *Lorrain's* Pillages. He lodg'd his Army there, as fast as they arriv'd, and posted his Horse and his Foot in all the places where he cou'd be attack'd. The *Parishans* refus'd to receive his Baggage into the City. The Prince defeated the first Battalion that fell on his Men, and at the Head of his Domesticks, and some Persons of Quality, without Command, beat back the Viscount *de Turenne's* Troops in a second Charge. He repuls'd the *French* Guards, who had possesst themselves of an Intrenchment in the Street, between *la Halle* and *Charonne*, while the Count *de Tavannes* defended himself fortunately near the Cross in the Suburbs of St. *Antony*. The Troops that were beaten out of the Street before-mention'd stop d at the Barricade. The Prince was Master of the Street as far as a Square, where the Viscount *de Turenne* had lodg'd some Musketeers in the Houses, by which the Prince must pass expos'd to all the Enemies fire. His Foot refus'd to advance, till a Squadron of the Prince's Men appear'd at the corner of another Street behind the Enemy, and these were attack'd by the Dukes of *Rochefoucault*, *Nemours* and *Beaufort*, who took them for Enemies, but when they saw their error they made themselves Masters of the Barricade. The Prince stood firm in the Street rallying his Men, and the King's Sol-

diers

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diers fir'd out of the Windows at those who kept the Barricade, which the Prince's Troops were oblig'd to abandon with the loss of many Persons of Note. The Dukes of *Nemours* and *Rochefoucault* were wounded dangerously; and both sides suffer'd extreamly on this occasion. The Viscount drew off his Men, and some of the Prince's Officers thought he wou'd retreat, tho his design was only to renew the Battle with fresh Troops from the Mareschal de la *Ferté*'s Army, which was then arriv'd. The *Parisians* seeing the Prince's danger, declar'd for him, and open'd their Gates to secure his Army. The Duke of *Orleans*'s eldest Daughter prevail'd with her Father to do the same, and went herself to the *Bastile*, where she commanded the Guns to play on the King's Forces. The Prince enter'd his Baggage first, and posted three hundred Citizens at the Gates, who sally'd out to skirmish the Enemy, while his Troops follow'd. The Cardinal fancy'd at first the Cannon of the *Bastile* fir'd on the Malecontents. but being soon undeceiv'd, he was in a great Consternation, and the Viscount de *Turenne* extreamly mortifi'd to find he must withdraw when he was so near a glorious Victory.

The Prince never shew'd greater Courage nor Conduct than in this famous Battel of St. *Antony*. He march'd his Army through Paris, and posted it on the Banks of the

*Seine*, above the Suburbs of *St. Victor*. The King's retir'd to *St. Denis*, where the Court was. The Citizens, who had seen the Prince do Wonders, were never so well inclin'd to assist him as now, he went immediately to the Town-Hall, in hopes, while they were warm, to engage them in his Cause, where a Tumult happen'd, which was prejudicial to his Affairs. The Mareschal *de l' Hospital*, Governour of *Paris*, persuaded the Citizens to break up their Meeting for four days, as the King commanded them by a Trumpet. The Prince's Soldiers, and some of the Citizens came arm'd to the Hall, and demanded the Magazins to be deliver'd up. The Mareschal *de l' Hospital* shut the Gates, which were fir'd by the Mutineers, and those who came forth to escape the Fire were massacred by the People. Several of the Prince's Friends, as well as Enemies, perish'd in this Confusion, which very much discredited the Prince of *Conde* in *Paris*. The Parliament sent Deputies to the King to desire Peace, and *Mazarin's* Banishment, and afterwards declar'd the Duke of *Orleans* Lieutenant General of the Crown, and the Prince of *Conde* Generalissimo of their Armies. The new Regent establish'd a new Council, consisting of the Prince of *Conde*, the Chancellor, *Seguier*, *Chavigny*, the Dukes *de Rohan*, *Briac*, *Sully*, *Rochefoucault*, and several others, who were to decide in all things as to War

or Peace. The Parliament having receiv'd no satisfactory answer from the King, the People weary of the Taxes, and of the Troubles, especially having the late Massacre at the Town-Hall in abhorrence, were dispos'd more and more every day to accommodate Matters with the Court, and the Prince gave *Chavigny* full power to make the same Proposals as *Gourville*, his Servant, had done before, which the Cardinal, knowing the Disposition of the *Parisians* for Peace, refus'd. The King remov'd the Parliament from *Paris* to *Pontoise*; where several Members of that Body render'd themselves, and forbad all his Subjects to own the usurp'd Authority of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*. However, to please the People, he consented that the Cardinal shou'd leave the Kingdom, even by *Mazarin*'s own advice, as 'tis pretended, who before he went sent very advantageous offers to the Prince, which he, in his turn, refus'd, and then this Favourite retir'd to *Bouillon*, in the Diocese of *Liege*; for he always took care to be within call. The retreat of *Mazarin* produc'd the design'd effect. The Parliament, and City of *Paris*, sent Deputies to thank the King, and to pray him to restore Joy and Peace by his Presence. The King also put out a general Pardon, leaving those to the Law that had offended in particular, which was rejected by the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince, who

promis'd to lay down Arms as soon as the Pardon was general. The Prince, seeing the absence of the Cardinal took from him all pretence to continue the War, sent for aid to the Spaniard and the Duke of Lorrain march'd towards Paris with an Army big enough to put a stop to the progress of the King's. The ill Discipline of the Prince's Troops, increas'd the Citizens hatred, which the Court perceiving order'd Turenne to intrench himself at Ville Neuve St. George, that so many Armies in the Neighbourhood of the City might incense 'em the more. The Viscount had scarce posted himself there, before he was encompass'd by the Prince, whose Army was increas'd by the addition of eleven thousand Spaniards, and he had never such great hopes of Success as at this time that he fell sick of a Fever, and remov'd to Paris; Rochford says his Distemper was worse than a Fever, but we believe he was too delicate in his Armour, to give occasion for such a Reflection. Montrond, after a twelve months Siege surrender'd to the Count de Pallau; which place the Prince is blam'd for not relieving, instead of suffering his Troops to lie about Paris, and disgust the Citizens with their plundering. The 24th. of September the Court came from Champaign to Pontoise, and were met by Deputies from the City, desiring the King's return. The Prince was

sick

sick in the City, yet did not trouble himself much for this disposition of the Citizens, while he thought himself sure of beating the Viscount *de Turenne*; he was contriving what he shou'd do after he had defeated him, and disposing of Places and Principal Employments of the Kingdom; yet Monsieur *de Turenne*, by a happy retreat eas'd him of that care, as is seen more at large in his Life. The Prince was in a violent Passion to hear of his escape, and told the Count *de Tavannes*, who Commanded in his absence, he shou'd not have got off so had he been there. *Chavigny* dy'd also the beginning of October, whom the Prince defam'd very much after for his infidelity. The Prince's Credit being sunk in *Paris*, the Court came to St. Germain. The Viscount *de Turenne*'s Army approaching, he thought 'twou'd not be safe for him to stay there longer; so he parted the 15th of October, two days after the Duke of *Lorrain*, leaving a Manifesto behind him, to warn the Citizens not to trust the Court, and to assure them he wou'd always serve them as faithfully as he had hitherto done, and procure them an honourable Peace with his Sword in his Hand.

A week after the Prince's departure, the King came to *Paris*, and the Duke of *Orleans* was order'd to retire to *Limours*. Monsieur *Broussell*, the only honest Man who wou'd not disown his good Cause, was suffer'd to remain

remain privately in *Paris*, the Court fearing  
the *Citizens* woud stir, if they disturb'd  
him. The Duke of *Orleans* quickly made  
his Peace with the King : invited the Prince  
of *Conde* to do the same, and pray'd him to  
send back his Troops under his Command,  
which the Prince did accordingly, after the  
Surrender of *St. Menehoult*. He had led his  
Army into *Champaign*, taken *Rhetel*, *Cha-*  
*teau Porcien*, and intended to Quarter his  
Men in that Province all the Winter. The  
Viscount de *Turenne* durst not Attack him,  
though the *Lorrainers* and *Spaniards* were  
separated from him. The latter designing  
to invest *Bouillon*, where *Mazarin* lay, who  
hearing of their design remov'd with a good  
Guard to *Sedan*, and the 25th. of *December*  
arriv'd at *St. Disier* with four thousand Men  
he had pick'd up while he was in the Diocess  
of *Liege*. He retook *Chateau Porcien*, and  
the Prince of *Conde* enter'd the Country of  
*Bar*, took *Bar le duc* and *Ligny*, which the  
King's Forces recover'd soon after. The  
Prince then put his Army into Winter-Quar-  
ters about the *Meuse*, and receiv'd from the  
Count de *Fuensaldaign*, a Commission to be  
Generalissimo of the King of *Spain*'s Armies.  
This Count was orderd by the Arch-Duke  
*Leopold* to return with his Troops into *Flan-*  
*ders*. The Prince was at *Clermont*, and the  
*French* Army at *Chalons*, when these Orders  
came, he was in great disquiet to be so near  
the

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the Enemy, till the Prince of *Tarentum* brought him six thousand Men rais'd at his own Charge in *Flanders*, whom the Prince to reward his Service, made General of his Forces; which so disgusted the Count de *Tavannes*, that he complain'd to him of the Injustice done him, and not receiving Satisfaction, took his leave of him, promising however to take no Employ at Court, and never to serve against him, which promise he perform'd like a Man of Honour, as he always shew'd himself to be.

The 3d. of Febr. 1653. *Mazarine* return'd to *Paris*, and was met by the King with his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, sixteen Miles from the City, and thence conducted thro' a crowd of Spectators to the *Louvre*, where he took up his Apartment as first Minister. The Magistrates, who had publish'd so many Edicts against him, complemented him in a body; the Citizens did the same, tho' their aversion to him was never perfectly cur'd. His first Care was to reduce the Towns that still held out for the Prince; *Bouteville*, afterwards Duke of *Luxembourg*, held out *Belguard* but a few days, and then yielded it up and went to the Prince, living in Rebellion to *Lewis XIV.* till the *Pyrenean Treaty*. The Duke of *Candale* besieg'd *Bourdeaux* by Land, and the Citizens thro' Famine and their Divisions between the two Factions in the City, surrender'd the 7th. of *July*, on condition

condition they shou'd be pardon'd in the same manner as the Citizens of *Paris*. The Princess of *Conde* with the Duke of *Anguien*, Count *Marsin*, and part of the Prince's Troops had Passports and Convoys given them to the Frontier of *Flanders*, and the Prince of *Conti* went to *Paris*, and marry'd the Cardinal's Niece. During this desertion of *Bourdeaux* and his Relations, the Prince form'd vast Designs to himself, and hop'd, while his Friends made a diversion in *Guinne*, he might enter into the heart of *France*. Two hundred thousand Crowns were to be paid him down, and half of this Sum was taken aboard a *Dutch* Ship by the *English*, then at War with *Holland*. The 16th. of Jan. 1653. he took *Vervins*, which place the Marquess of *Castelnau* made himself Master of, not long after, and the Mareschal de la *Ferte* took the Castles of *Orn* and *Sorbec*, the Governour of the last place he hung up at the Castle-Gate to terrifie the rest, who stood out against the King's Forces, and then joyning the Viscount de *Turenne*, they besieg'd *Rhetel*, which made a short Resistance. The Prince of *Conde* to divert them, pass'd the *Somme*, and attack'd *Roye* a Town in *Picardy*. Monsieur de *Turenne* was commanded to march against him, whom the Prince, after he had taken *Roye*, in vain endeavour'd to draw to a Battel, and seeing he artfully avoided it, the *Spaniards* sate down before

*Rocroye*,

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Rocroye, the Viscount did the same by *Mouzon*, and took it, as the Prince did *Rocroye* three Days after. The King of *Spain* gave the Town to the Prince, to make amends for his Losses in *France*. Before *Rocroye* he had several Disputes with Count *Fuensaldaigne*, and with the Arch-Duke, about the Word, the Difference increas'd by the Prince's refusing to give place to the Arch-Duke, to which, by Promises and Threats, the *Spaniards* wou'd have persuaded him. But he told them, ' He wou'd rather leave the *Netherlands* and expose himself to whatever might happen, than in any manner injure the Dignity of his Blood. The Prince being positive in this Contest, the King of *Spain*, not to disgust him, order'd, That he shou'd in all things be treated with the same Honours as the Arch-Duke. Notwithstanding what he had flatter'd himself to do, the *French* rather got than lost Ground, the Mareschal de *Plessis* master'd St. *Menehout*, the Viscount de *Turenne* and the Mareschal de *la Ferte* keeping the Field to prevent the *Spaniard's* succouring it. The Prince's Affairs in *France* were in very ill Circumstances, yet the Cardinal offer'd him as good Terms almost, as he had demanded when his Affairs were at the best, with the Sovereignty of three Towns, which the Prince refus'd, rather than break his Word to the King of *Spain*, with whom he had lately concluded

a Treaty, by which, all the Towns he took were to be the Prince's. A Decree was publish'd at this time by the Parliament of Paris, whereby he was declar'd, *Guilty of High-Treason, to be depriv'd of the Name of Bourbon, of the Dignity and Privileges of Prince of the Blood, his Goods confiscated, to be divested of his Places and Governments, and to suffer the Pains of Death*; which his Friends advis'd him wou'd be his Fortune, if he fell into the Cardinal's hands. Lewis XIV. had been lately Crown'd at Rhimes, and came thence in Person to the Siege of Stenay, which the Prince thought wou'd not be much to his Reputation, and cou'd not forbear to say, *'Twas not worth the King's while to be Crown'd on purpose to disgrace himself before Stenay.* Chamilly defended the place a Month, and then deliver'd it on honourable Conditions. As soon as Stenay was surrendered, the Mareschal d' Hocquincourt, joyn'd with his Troops from this Seige, to Monsieur de Turenne, and they were order'd to relieve Arras, besieg'd by the Prince of Conde, which Town defended itself resolutely; the French Generals march'd towards the Spaniards, resolving to force their Lines. The Viscount de Turenne on their approach to the Enemies Camp, went to take a view of it, and the Prince at the head of ten Squadrons, beat him back with loss; the Duke de Joyense dy'd in this Skirmish. The 24th. of August, the Attacks

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Attacks were to be carry'd on in this manner, The Mareschal *d' Hocquincourt* was to fall on *Don Fernand de Solis's* Quarters on Mount St. *Eloy*, the Mareschal *de la Ferte* on the *Lorrainers*, and the Viscount *de Turenne* on those between *Solis* and the Arch-Duke's. The 20th. of *August* they approach'd the Lines, and the Infantry had no great Difficulty to force those of *Solis's* Quarter, the best part of his Regiments being on Guard in the Trenches. The *French* Foot began to pull up the Pallisadoes, and fill up the Ditches with Fascines, to make way for the Horse to enter the Camp. The Viscount *de Turenne* push'd on his attack very vigorously, the *Spaniards* defended themselves better here, but the *French* in the end enter'd their Lines, drove them from their Entrenchments, fill'd up the Ditch, and push'd them to a Barricade, which the Marques *de Bellefonds* forc'd at the head of the *Enfans Perdus*; so large a Passage was made, that all the Battalions who had enter'd the Lines might advance; these Attacks began an hour after mid-night, and by day-break the Viscount *de Turenne's* Cavalry enter'd the Camp without any opposition. The Prince of *Conde* had not yet receiv'd any check, he left his Quarter to stop those who fled, and repuls'd the Enemy, he put himself at the head of fourteen Battalions, and routed the Mareschal *de Hocquincourt's* Troops, advancing

cing towards the *Lorrain Quarter*, and then march'd against the *Marechal de la Ferte*, whom he forc'd also to retire ; having beaten back two *Mareschals of France*, he fell upon the *Viscount de Turenne* who stood firm to receive him ; the Fight was long and bloody, and the Victory doubtful for some time. The *Marquess de Castlenau* was forc'd to retire into the Town of *Arras*, and informing the *Governour* that the *Prince of Conde* only resisted the *French Armies* who had enter'd the *Spanish Lines*, he sally'd out with all his *Cavalry* to help on the defeat of the *Spaniards*. The *Prince* fought still with incredible bravery, and no body coming to his Assistance, he suppos'd the *Arch-Duke* was retreated from his *Quarter* ; he then thought best to do the same himself, lest the whole Power of the *French*, strengthen'd with the *Governour's Cavalry* shou'd fall upon him ; he put himself in the *Rear* to encounter the *Enemy* while he rally'd his *Troops*, which he order'd to march before him ; he retir'd thus from *Defile* to *Defile* without breaking, and gave the *Spaniards* leisure to reach *Doray*, where he arriy'd himself with his *Squadrons*, being equally esteem'd by his *Friends* and by his *Enemies* for this glorious *Retreat*. 'Twas entirely to his *Prudence* and *Valour*, that the *Spaniards* ow'd the preservation of their *Army*, and had it not been for him, they had been all cut to pieces, which the King

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of Spain confess'd in a Letter he wrote the Prince on this occasion. *Mi Primo he intendendo todo esteva perdido Yo; Al: ha conservado todo.* My Cousin, I have been told all was lost, and that your Highness recover'd all. The Spaniards had seven thousand Men kill'd and taken at the Battel of *Arras*. The loss of the French as to the slain, was almost equal. The Prince of *Conde* being reinforc'd with some German Horse and the Militia of the Country march'd to oppose the French, who on the report of his march, retir'd. The Mareschal de la *Ferte* was commanded to Crown the Campaign with the Siege of *Clermont*, and the Viscount to observe the Prince of *Conde*, and prevent his sending any Succour to the Town, which was his own; but not being willing to hazard a Battel with Monsieur de *Turenne*, 'twas impossible for him to relieve it, or indeed to keep the Field for want of Provisions. The Armies on both sides after the surrender of *Clermont*, went into Winter-Quarters, and the Prince of *Conde* to *Brussels*, where the Queen of *Sweden* then was, and tho' she had an extreme desire to see him, and had written to him after his Retreat at *Arras*, *That She wou'd put on a Scarf and fight by his side:* Yet on some Difference about the Ceremony of his Visit, the Prince did not see her, but once *incognito* at her Apartment, and at other times in Publick in the Mall.

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\*Tis said that a Negotiation was about this time on foot, to make the Prince King of *Scotland*, on Condition that the *French* shou'd assist King *Charles* to recover his Dominions. In the beginning of the Year 1655. the Prince block'd up *Quesnoi*, which the Viscount de *Turenne* reliev'd by a Stratagem, and in June, he and the Mareschal de la *Ferte* invested *Landrecies*, which yielded the 18<sup>th</sup> of July on honourable Terms. *Maubeng* was also deliver'd up to the *French*. The Prince drove the Mareschal de la *Ferte* from before St. *Guilain*. *Conde* was taken the 18<sup>th</sup> of Aug. and the Viscount and the Mareschal together in four days made themselves Masters of St. *Guilain*; the Armies observ'd each other for a few Weeks, and then both sides went into Winter-Quarters. The same year Duke *Francis* of *Lorrain* deserted with his Troops, and went over to the *French* King, with whom Oliver *Cromwell* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England* made an Alliance. The Court of *Spain* sent Don John of *Austria*, the King's natural Son to be Gouvernour of the *Netherlands*, in hopes the change of the Gouvernour wou'd cause a change for the better in their Affairs, which happen'd accordingly. The next year 1656. the Viscount de *Turenne* and the Mareschal de la *Ferte* open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Valenciennes*, which the Prince of *Conde* in conjunction with Don John re-  
sisted, and took the place.

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solv'd to relieve. The *Spanisj* Troops were presently got together, and the Prince led the Van of the Army towards the Enemies Camp. He fell on the Mareschal *de la Ferte's* Quarter, and therec being no communication between his and the Viscount's, but by Bridges over several Ditches, the Governour of the City had notice to open his Sluces, which overturn'd the Bridges, and overflow'd the Country. The *Spaniards* forc'd the Mareschal's Lines, enter'd his Camp, and put all things into disorder; the *French* Cavalry fled without fighting, and those who were not drown'd threw down their Arms, and implor'd the Mercy of the Conqueror. The Mareschal was taken, and had it not been for the Captain of his Guards, who to ward a Blow design'd for him, took it himself, he had dy'd on the Spot, as that Officer did; there were about six hundred kill'd in this Quarter, and four thousand taken Prisoners. The Prince of *Conde* enter'd *Valenciennes*, and visited the Mareschal *de la Ferte*, who was lodg'd at *Bournonville's* the Governour. The Viscount *de Turenne* retreated happily to *Quesnoi*, and the Prince to improve his Victory made himself Master of *Conde*; he afterwards attack'd St. *Guilain*, yet soon after rais'd the Siege to succour *La-Chapelle*, which the Viscount *de Turenne* took before he cou'd come up to its relief; so the Season being advanc'd, he put his Troops into Quarters

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360. The Life of Part II.  
and retir'd to Rocroy. He was early in the  
Field the year following, 1657. and upon  
the 22d. of March had St. Guilain surrendered  
to him; the Viscount de Turenne to repair  
the Loss of St. Guilain, laid down before  
Cambray, of which the Prince of Conde ha-  
ving notice by an accident, as he was at the  
Rendezvous of his Cavalry, he march'd  
way immediately to throw himself into the  
place. His first Line (through the advantag-  
e of the Night) enter'd and pass'd the En-  
emies Camp, meeting no Opposition; the  
noise they made, gave an alarm to the French,  
yet the Prince fought his way through with  
the second, and the third follow'd; thus ha-  
ving got into the Town with eighteen Squa-  
drons, the Viscount rais'd the Siege, and the  
Citizens of Cambray struck a Meddal to the  
Honour of the Prince with this Inscription.  
*Virgini Sacrum & Condæo Liberatori.* Dun-  
kirk was lost the next year, whatever the  
Prince of Conde cou'd do to prevent it, he  
fought the Viscount, and had the Spaniard  
seconded him, perhaps he might have come  
off better. The Count Bouteville (Duke of  
Luxemburg) was taken fighting by his side,  
and had not the Captain of the Prince's  
Guards mounted him on his Horse after his  
Master's was kill'd; under him, the Prince  
himself had suffer'd the same Fate. Dunkirk  
capitulated the 24th. of June 1658. and was  
deliver'd to the English: Bergues, Furnes, Dix-

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muyde, Menin, Graveline, and other places follow'd after Dunkirk, yet the French being weary of the Charge of a War which had lasted twenty three years, and the Spaniards of their Losses, they both began to think of Peace, which was propos'd to the Cardinal of Lyons; Mazarine wou'd not then hear of any other Terms for the Prince of Conde, than that he might return to France, but not to his Posts and Governments, which Pimentel the Spanish Agent was forc'd to agree to, lest the Treaty shou'd be broke off for this preliminary Article, as one in 1656. was on the same account at Madrid; so the Prince's Interest was left thus till the conclusion of the Peace between the Cardinal and Don Lewis de Haro at their Interview in the Isle of Pheasants near the Pyrenees. The Prince of Conde's Articles were the longest in debate; Don Lewis disown'd Pimentel's Treaty, and said, he had exceeded his Orders, and demanded that the Prince shou'd be restor'd to all his Governments and Places. The Cardinal stood to the Agent's Treaty, and the Spaniard finding he cou'd not prevail, said, His Master then must satisfie the Prince, by giving him the Sovereignty of two or three Places in Flanders. This was only a feint made by Don Lewis to bring over the Cardinal to his Terms, and this Minister fearing the Spaniard was in earnest, began to be mollify'd as to the Prince of Conde, being  
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not at all pleas'd that the Prince shou'd be Sovereign of two or three Towns on the Frontier; yet he resolv'd to dissemble and to sell his Concessions as dear as he cou'd; and 'twas on Condition that *Don Lewis* gave up *Davesnes*, *Mariemburg*, *Philipville* and the County of *Conflans* in *Catalonia* to the French, that the Cardinal agreed to the Restauration of the Prince to his Government of *Burgundy* and *Bresse*, and that the Duke of *Anguien* shou'd have the charge of Great Master of the King's Household; that in case of the Duke of *Anguien*'s Death, his Father shou'd keep the place, and all the Prince's Servants and Followers be restor'd to their Estates. The Spaniards were so glad that they had carry'd the Point of the Prince of *Conde*'s re-establishment, that they said publickly, ' If the Cardinal had ask'd it, he might have had *Cambray* also. There were several Disputes about the Titles to be given the Prince, so warm, that they had like to have broken off the Treaty, had not the Prince writ to *Don Lewis* to desire him not to delay the Peace a moment on his account, for he wou'd no more dispute with his Master. The Treaty at large was concluded the 7<sup>th</sup>. of Nov. 1659. the seventy ninth and eightieth Articles following relate to the Prince of *Conde*, and are the same in Substance with the Terms before-mention'd, ' That he shou'd be put in possession of his Estates, Ho-

ours,

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nours, Dignities and Privileges of Prince of the Blood, and to the Places and Governments he possess'd before ; and that his Servants and Friends, either Temporal or Spiritual shou'd be restor'd to their Estates and Dignities, and all Edicts against him and them be repeal'd. The King of Spain promis'd by a private Article to give the Prince of Conde a Million of Gold for what he was in Arrear to him. These Conditions the Prince heartily agreed to, and prepar'd for his return to France. The principal Towns in the Netherlands presented him with great Gifts at his departure, and paid him extraordinary Honours for the signal Services he had done them.

The Prince, on the contrary, rejoyc'd to be out of the Hands of their Governour-Generals, and left Flanders, entring his Native Country by the way of La-Chapelle with a moderate Equipage and Train. Passing thro' Soissons, the Town wou'd have visited him in a Body, which he refus'd, saying, *He wou'd receive no Publick Honour till he had first seen the King.* He went thence to Meaux, and from Meaux to the Duke of Longueville's in Brie ; the 15th. of January 1660. he arriv'd at Aix, the King was there, and several Persons of Quality went to meet the Prince, among these the Prince of Conti his Brother, whom he receiv'd very obligingly. The Cardinal came three Miles from the Town to

meet him, and after having loaden him with Complements and Caresses, presented him to the King; and the King shew'd him as much Respect as he cou'd, debrea the Prince fell at his Feet, whom the King presently rais'd, and as soon as the Prince began to excuse what he had done, and to beg his Pardon, he interrupted him, saying, *Cousin, after the great Services you have render'd to my Crown, I shall not trouble myself to remember a Misfortune which has hurt nobody but yourself.* The Prince, however, did no more make the figure in France he was want to do, he liv'd in a continual dependence on the Court, being reduc'd to flatter and truckle like the rest, to obey the King like a Slave, and submit to the Will, even of his Ministers; so he retir'd out of the World, where he was little regarded. He stay'd eight Days with the King, and then went to Paris, where he became so Popular by his obliging Carriage, that the Court took umbrage. The Duke of Orleans dying the second of February, the Court went into Mourning, and the Prince was said to be the same with that which was only us'd by the Children of France, which the King dislik'd, and he had the mortification to have an Order sent him to change it; he had another, and a greater Reason to be offend'd with the Court, for the States of Poland, shewing an inclination to chuse him King, and the Queen Dowager promising

mising him her Interest, on Condition the Duke of *Anguien* marry'd her Niece, Daughter of the Princess *Palatine*; the King, tho' he at first consented to it, and gave him hopes of his Assistance, yet afterwards told him, *'Twas for the Interest of his Crown that he shou'd desist from his Pretensions*; which Command the Prince obey'd, and answer'd the Polish Lords, who wrote to him to prosecute his Election, *That he shou'd not esteem them as his Friends, if they thought any more of it*: which he wou'd never think of, since his Majesty had honour'd him so far as to tell him it was not for the good of the State, that he shou'd stand Candidate for the Crown of Poland. 'Tis plain enough that his Resignation was constrain'd, but he was not in a Condition to go through with that Design by himself, and Lewis XIV's Successes discourag'd him from aiming at any thing which might increase his Jealousie of him. He cast the Duke of *Lorrain* in a Suit he commenc'd against him for the Towns of *Stenay, Clermont and Jamets*. The Death of the Cardinal on the 9th. of *March 1661.* did not produce any change at Court to the Prince's Advantage; that Minister, when he dy'd, gave the Prince of *Conde* a Diamond valu'd at thirty thousand *Francks*, and six fine Horses, at eight hundred *Pistoles* each. Tho' the Prince of *Conde* came to Council, he had very little share in the Deliberations held there.

there. The King declar'd at the Board, That he wou'd for the future be first Minister himself, and he has since shewn by his Management, that tho' Richlieu and Mazarin were both Masters of the Politicks, which promoted Tyranny and Arbitrary Government; yet Lewis XIV. Mazarins Pupil, is a much greater Master of that abominable Science. In 1663. he marry'd his Son, the Duke of Anguien, to the Prince's Palatine's Daughter, which was the only joyful event happen'd to him since his return to France. He liv'd at his House at Chantilly, spending his time in Reading and Contemplation, accompany'd by Men of Gallantry and Letters, and to excuse his retirement, pretended to be incommoded with the Gout.

In 1668. the King communicated his Intentions of seizing the *Franche Comté* to the Prince of Conde, and gave him the Command of the Army, at the solicitation of Louvois, who hated the Viscount de Turenne, and hop'd by bringing the Prince again to have the Conduct of the War, to destroy the Viscount's Credit with the King. The Prince put himself at the Head of the Troops design'd for this Expedition, and the 16th. of February 1668. presented himself before Besancon, which made no resistance. The King made hast to be at the delivery of the Place, but it seems the Garison were more hasty

hasty than he expected. His Majesty invested *Dole*, which Town durst not resist that Monarchs Valour, and his Pistoles, longer than three days. The whole Province was not above seventeen days subduing, and the Government of it was giv'n to the Prince of *Conde*, though he did not hold it long, for the *French* were oblig'd to give it back to the Catholick King, by the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, concluded the 2d. of May 1668. This Treaty was occasion'd by the *English* and the *Dutch* forming with the *Swedes* the famous League call'd the Triple Alliance; and 'twas not long before the *French* King reveng'd on the *Hollanders* their putting a stop to his Conquests. King *Casimir* abdicating the Crown of *Poland* in the year 1664. the Prince of *Conde* stood fair to carry it, had not the States of that Country, to prevent confusion, resolv'd not to choose a Foreiner. In 1671. the Princess of *Conde* was commanded by the King, and her Husband, to confine herself to *Chateauroux* in *Berry*. The reason of this Command was never known; but she did not afterwards appear any more at Court, or in Publick. The Prince of *Conde* broke off the intended Marriage of the late Duke of *Orleans*'s eldest Daughter with the Count de *Lauzun*, about this time; this being the only thing that drew him from his retreat at *Chantilly*, to represent to the King, who lov'd the Count,

Count, how great a dishonour 'twou'd be to his Crown. The King, though 'twas believ'd he woul'd the Match cou'd have gone honourably forward, seem'd convinc'd with his Reasons, and order'd the Count to be imprison'd in the Citadel of Pignerol, where he was confin'd twelve years, for presuming to aspire to the Bed of a Prince of the Blood Royal.

Lewis XIV. the year ensuing, fell on the Dutch with an Army of above one hundred thousand Men. What were the Causes of this War we cannot affirm, except his Ambition and Revenge for some Droll Pieces drawn of him by Dutch Painters. The Army was divided into three Bodies, the King and the Viscount de Turenne Commanded the first, the Prince of Conde the second, and Chamilli, his Creature, the third; for now, that the Monarch had occasion for the Prince's Service, he carry'd himself to him more favourably than formerly. The Prince march'd before the King with thirty five thousand Men, and besieg'd Wesel, while the King took Orsoy, and Turenne, Burick. Then Wesel, Roes, Emerick and Deudekom, surrender'd at the first approach of the Prince's Troops before them. The King join'd the Prince near Emerick, in order to pass the Rhine, a Traytor having been brib'd to shew him a Ford near a House call'd Tolbys. The Count de Guiche, was order'd by the Prince

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to see if the River was really fordable in  
that place; and he giving him an account  
that it was the King and his Household  
got on Horseback, and several great Lords  
with him, to signalize themselves at this  
glorious Action, which made more noise  
than it deserv'd; for general Wurts had nei-  
ther Cavalry nor Infantry sufficient to Man  
the Posts on the other side; the greatest  
part of the Dutch Forces being posted to  
Guard the passage of the Issel. The Cannon  
play'd on the Dutch to facilitate the French  
passing over the Rhine, several of whom  
plung'd into the Flood, which was the worst  
Enemy they encounter'd with. The Stream  
bearing down the Count de Nogent, and a  
great number of those who first attempted  
to swim over. The Prince of Conde went  
into a Boat with the Duke of Angrain; and  
the Count de Guiche drew up the Troops in  
Battalia on the Banks of the River. The  
Prince when he was got on the other side,  
rally'd those who had past over, the Duke  
de Longueville, and several other Persons of  
Quality were kill'd at the Enemies first dis-  
charge; the Prince himself was wounded in  
the hand; yet he wou'd not leave the Combat,  
till the Dutch were driv'n out of their Tren-  
ches, and entirely routed. The way being clear,  
the King now past over, and took Town  
after Town; and 'tis not to be wonder'd  
that he proceeded so fast; for Holland was  
divi-

divided between two Parties, and the States secure, as they thought in the Treaty of *Mix la Chapelle*, which the French King made, with an intention only to break it as soon as he was in a condition to do it, to his advantage, and he never cou'd have hop'd for a better opportunity. The Prince was disabled by his Wound, and the King had the honour of taking, either by himself, or by *Turenne* his Lieutenant General, *Arnheim*, *Knokzemburg*, *Grave*, *Bommel*, *Skink*, *Doesburg*, *Zutphen*, and *Narden*, within three Leagues of *Amsterdam*. Neither of these Cities making any opposition to the progress of his Arms. The Citizens of *Utrecht* Complemented the Conqueror with their Keys, and here the Monarch held a Council of War whether he shou'd treat with the Deputies sent thither by the States, or go on to *Amsterdam*, which City was in a terrible Consternation. The Garisons had so weaken'd the Army, that the Prince advis'd to raze the Places, and draw the Garisons out. The Marquess *de Louvois* said, there was no occasion to fear any one durst oppose the Kings Arms, and those who reported they wou'd, did it only to obscure his Glory. This Flattery of *Louvois* lost all the Conquerors acquisitions faster than he got them. The King finding his Conquests at a stand, and fearing that he shou'd lose them by his Presence, if he stay'd, left *Luxemburg* at *Utrecht*, and return'd him-

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himself to *France*. The next Year 1673. the Prince of *Conde* commanded at *Utrecht*, where he was receiv'd by the Citizens with great Honour, and he spent the best part of his time in conversation with the Scholars; the Catholicks of *Gueldres* sent to him here to have the Churches of that Province put into their Hands, which he excus'd, and order'd the Dikes to be open'd to let out the Water which drown'd the Country, but those Breaches let in more by the Tydes, and this oblig'd him to lay aside the thoughts of draining the Country that way. He advanc'd towards *Muyden*, within two Leagues of *Amsterdam*, designing to seize that place, but falling sick he was forc'd to return to *Utrecht*. The Germans under *Montecuculi* were on their march towards *Flanders*, and the *Spaniards* hearing the King of *England* was sending some more Troops to the assistance of the *French*, prepar'd to oppose their junction with the Prince of *Conde* who march'd to *Flanders*, as well to meet the *English* as to observe *Montecuculi*. The Prince of *Orange* joyn'd the *Spanish* Troops, their King being lately enter'd into the Confederacy against *France*, and with this Reinforcement besieg'd *Bon*, which he took in five days. The Prince of *Conde* having secur'd the *English* Forces from the Attacks of the *Spaniards* that attempted in vain to dispute their Passage, ended the Campaign.

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In 1674. the King order'd the Prince to command in *Flanders*, who with an Army of forty thousand Men took the Field, and possess'd himself of *Argenteau* and *Navaign*. The Prince of Orange with the Title of *Generalissimo* of the King of *Spain's* Armies, had under him an Army of fifty thousand *Dutch*, *Spaniards* and *Germans*. The Count *de Souches* commanded the *Imperialists*, and the Count *de Montereys*, Governour of the *Netherlands*, the *Spaniards*; the Division of these Generals obstructed the Prince's Designs, however, he sent twelve thousand Men under *Rabenhaupt* to besiege *Grave*, where the Marquess *de Chamilli* was Governour; the Prince of *Conde* was very earnest to hasten to the Relief of his old Servant and Creature; *Rabenhaupt* saw by the Defence the Governour made, the Town cou'd not be taken with his small Army, so he fortify'd himself in his Camp. The Prince of *Orange* try'd all manner of ways to draw the Prince of *Conde* out of his strong Post on the River *Pieton*, between *Charleroy* and *Fountaine l' Everque*; but seeing twas to no purpose, he thought to form some Siege, in hopes he wou'd come forth to relieve the Place. The Prince with the Army of the Allies, decamp'd the 11th. of *August* 1674. and march'd towards *Seneff*; the Army was divided in three Bodies, the Count *de Souches* commanded the Vanguard, the Prince of *Orange* the Main Body,

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Body, and the Count de Montereye the Rear. The Prince of *Vaudemont* with four thousand Horse put himself behind the Army to cover their March. The Prince of *Conde* resolv'd to fall on part of the Army in the Defiles through which they must necessarily pass; he waited till the Vanguard and the Main Body were past by, and as soon as he saw the Rear begin to file off, he came out of his Entrenchments, charg'd, and easily routed the *Spaniards*. The Prince of *Orange* at the Head of the Army, no sooner heard what was done in the Rear, than he gallop'd thither, and seeing the Prince of *Conde* endeavour'd to cut off that part of the Army which was separated by a Wood, he feiz'd a rising Ground beyond the Village of *Serffe*, where he posted his Cavalry, and commanded three great Battalions to advance to guard a Defile. The Prince of *Conde* drove on, and the *Spaniards* falling back on the *Dutch*, he defeated the latter, took many Colours, and kill'd and took a great Number of Officers: His Friends have wish'd he had stop'd here, but his impetuous Courage cou'd not be held in, he order'd all his Army to advance, and commanded the Chevalier *de Fourilles* to march against the Prince of *Orange*, who arguing on the Difficulty of the Enterprize, the Prince of *Conde* told him, *He always thought him better at Reasoning than Fighting*; for the

Prince did not love him ! T<sup>e</sup> the Chevalier touch'd with this Reproach ladyanc'd against the Enemy, but was forc'd to retire after having lost moste of his Officers, and himself was so wounded, he dy'd in an hour after, saying, *He was not sorry to die in the King's Service, yet shou'd be glad to have liv'd long enough to see how the Prince got out of this Affair.* He defeated the three Battalions above-mention'd, and repuls'd the Cavalry. T<sup>e</sup> he Prince of Orange, by Reproches, Threats and Promises, did endeavour to stop those that fled, and commanded three Battalions, more to advance, to sustain the former, who before they were in their Posts, were forc'd by the Prince of Conde to retire to *du Fay*, a Village just by, fortify'd with a strong Castle and a good Church, and encompass'd with Hedges, and the Passage defend'd by a Bog on one side, and a Wood on the other, which the Prince of Orange had lin'd with his Infantry ; yet the Prince of Conde neither valuing his own Danger, nor the Lives of his Men, resolv'd to drive the Enemy from this Post ; he, to that end, order'd his Men to march to the Village, and in his way meeting the three Battalions we have mention'd, he cut off part of them, and put the other to flight ; being come in sight of *du Fay*, he sent the Duke of Luxembourg to the Wood-side, where the Prince of Orange's Infantry were, and he himself attempted to force

the Village. The Combat began here with extreme Fury, *Luxemburg* was driven back with the Loss of most of his Men, and this Resistance enrag'd the Prince so much, that there was nothing to be seen but Blood and Slaughter, every one doing his best, fir'd by the Example of the two Generals. The firing lasted for two Hours after Night by Moon-light, but that being obscur'd, the French and the Allies retir'd, and thus finish'd this terrible Battel, continu'd from seven in the Morning till eleven at Night. About seven thousand lay dead on the Spot of the Confederates and the French, these had most Men kill'd, and the Allies had most taken. Both Parties pretended to the Victory, which certainly was claim'd by the Prince of Orange, with greatest Reason, as having kept the Field of Battel, tho' Sir William Temple says, 'Both Parties pretended to it, perhaps without any Grounds for it. The Valour of the two Generals cannot be enough admir'd, and especially the Prince Orange, of whom the Count de Souches wrote to the States, *That during the Fight, there appear'd to him the Wisdom of an old Captain, and the Courage of a Cæsar.* The Prince of Conde talking of this Prince, said, *He had behav'd himself in every thing like an old Officer, only in exposing his Person too much.* Tho' as Sir William Temple remarks, he in this reflect'd on himself, who was every where as

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576 much expos'd, and whose Courage might have been temper'd with Age, whereas the Prince of Orange was in the heat of his Youth, and just started in the Race of Glory. This Prince after the Battel of Seneffe, laid Siege to Oudenard, which place the Prince of Conde march'd to relieve, and the former being for coming forth of his Lines to meet him, was oppos'd by Souches the Imperial General. The Divisions between the General-Officers in the Army of the Allies were the Reason of the raising that Siege. However, the Prince of Orange woud not put his Troops into their Quarters, till he had made himself Master of Grave, which was surrendered to him the 26th. of October. During this Siege, the Prince of Conde sent part of his Troops to Germany to Monsieur de Turenne, put the rest into their Garrisons, and return'd to Court, where going to wait on the King, seeing the Monarch staid for him on the top of the Stair-Case, which he cou'd not mount very fast by reason of the Gout, he cry'd out when he was half way, *Sir, I beg your Majesty's Pardon for making you stay.* To whom the King reply'd, *Don't make too much haste, Cousin, when a Man is loaden with Laurels, like you, he cannot go very fast.* In May 1675. the King declar'd him General of the Army in Flanders, and went thither with him. Limburg was invested the 9th. of June, the Prince came to the Camp

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Camp before it, and having given the necessary Orders for carrying on the Works, left the Siege to the Duke of Angiers, who had the Town surrendered to him the 21st. The Prince of Orange had pass'd the Maeze to succour Limburg, and hearing 'twas taken, he march'd back in the Road to Brussels in great Haste, being pursu'd by the Prince of Conde, who sending a Detachment to Germany, diminish'd his Army so much, that he was himself in his turn pursu'd by the Prince of Orange. The Viscount de Turenne's Death occasion'd the Prince of Conde's marching with a great Detachment to joyn the Count de Lorges on the Rhine. He arriv'd in Germany when Montecuculi laid down before Haguenau, and march'd immediately to force him to raise the Siege, or to cut off his Communication with Stratsburg, which City sent Deputies to excuse their giving passage to the Germans, but the Prince gave them a very unpleasant reception. Montecuculi hearing the French Army was inferior in Number to his, rais'd the Siege and came down on the Prince, who had posted himself very advantageously, yet the Germans took two Castles on an Eminence near his Camp, whence they cannonaded his Army. The Prince being very much incommoded, drew off in the Night to Scestadt; Montecuculi follow'd him, kill'd some of his Men, and took many Prisoners, yet cou'd not hinder his

seizing the Post he intended, where he fortify'd his Camp, and *Montecuculi* took *Molzin* and *Molzic*, and fortify'd *Lauterbourg*. The Prince still keeping close in his Camp at *Schlestadt*, till the end of that Campaign.

From this time to the Peace concluded by the Mediation of King *Charles II.* of *England* at *Nimeguen* in *July 1679*. the Prince assisted only with his Counsels, which were not often hearken'd to, and when the Peace was sign'd, he took that occasion to ask the King's leave to retire to his House at *Chantilly*, being weary of the Mortification he receiv'd at Court, the Insults of the Ministers, and the little Notice the King took of him, never following his Advice, unless 'twas the same with *Louvois* or *Colbert's*. When the Prince of *Conti's* Contract of Marriage with *Mademoiselle de Blois*, the King's natural Daughter by *La Vallier*, was presented him by *Colbert*, to be sign'd, he refus'd it because the Title of High and Mighty Prince, usually given him, was left out, he went immediately to complain of it to the King, who only answer'd sullenly, *Sign, Cousin, Sign*; and the Prince durst no more dispute it. He liv'd afterwards in an abject submission to *Lewis XIV.* either fearing his great Authority, or to engage him to be the kinder to his Son, whom he tenderly lov'd; he seldom went to Court above twice or thrice

in a Year, and then only that the King might not be offended at his neglecting to pay his Duty. The Duke of *Anguien* in the year 1685. being offer'd *Mademoiselle de Nantes*, the King's natural Daughter by *Montespan*, for his Son the Duke of *Bourbon*, desir'd of the King to consult his Father, and shewing some unwillingness to do it, the Prince of *Conde* bid him be gone and throw himself at the King's Feet immediately to thank him for the honour he did him. For, says he, Princes of the Blood are not now what they were formerly, they are no more than Subjects, and if they wou'd be in Favour at Court, must submit to the King's pleasure and to his Ministers. Let the Reader make a Judgment how well this Advice became the Great Prince of *Conde*. To shew his desire to be in the King's good Graces, he spent fifty thousand Crowns in one Entertainment for him at *Chantilli*, where he past six or seven Years, in all the innocent Pleasures of a Country Life, Building, Reading and Hunting, tho' Books were his most general Diversions to which he took so much Delight, that at *Richlieu's* Death the French Academy thought of chusing him for their Director; In whose Youth, says Mr. *Pelisson*, there shines already a great deal of Wit, and a passionate inclination for the Belles Lettres. The Professors of all sorts of polite Learning were welcom and well paid at *Chantilli*, and his Glory is celebrated by

*Voiture, Sarasin, Boileau, and by all the Writers famous in his Days.* Nor was there any occasion for him to be at thirty thousand *Livres* a year Charge, as does *Lewis XIV.* to hire Historians to flatter him, and write a fine History of his brave Actions, which will be a Jest on the Hero and his Historians to all futurity. In 1686. tho' he was ill himself, he wou'd visit his Grand-Daughter the Duchess of *Bourbon*, sick of the Small-Pox at *Fountainbleau*, and by a respectful Boldness held the Door on the King, when he wou'd have enter'd, least the ill Air might have been prejudicial to his Majesty's Health. His Sicknes increas'd so fast, that the Physicians began to give him over, Couriers came from all parts of the Kingdom to enquire of his Health, the King himself sent several times. The Prince of *Conti* was then in Disgrace for a Crime, which had he been a meaner Person, wou'd have merited exemplary Punishment, and the Prince of *Conde* order'd the Duke of *Anguien* to attend the Court in order to procure his Pardon. The Prince his Father wou'd not suffer him to come thence, till he was in the last moment of his Life. The Physicians looking sorrowfully on him, he bid them not to dissemble, but speak if there was any Danger, and when they advis'd him to take care of his Soul's Concerns, he sent an Express for *Pere Deschamps* to come and confess him. He wou'd have writ a Letter

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to the King, but his hand failing, he only dictated it. He bless'd his Children, gave them Instructions how to live in their several Stations; embrac'd the Duke of *Anguien*, and recommended him to love his Relations sincerely, and without affectation. About Eleven a Clock at Night, he quietly departed this Life the 11th. of September 1686. for whose Death the King and the whole Court were very much griev'd.

His Majesty when he read that Part of his Letter which referr'd to the middle of his Life, is reported to have wept, and said, *That he had lost a Great Prince.* The Duke of *Anguien* and the Prince of *Conde's* Friends, pray'd him to leave Memoirs of his Life, which he always refus'd, saying, *He cou'd not do it without speaking well of himself, and ill of others, which though he shou'd speak nothing but Truth, he wou'd never do.* Tho' we have not enlarg'd on every Action of his Life, yet there are few Events of Importance, perhaps none, which we have not touch'd, and had rather lengthen this History beyond the Limits we prescrib'd our selves than omit any thing in the Life of a Hero, whose every Action was Great and Important, and whose Faults ought to be excus'd for the Abundance and the Lustre of his Virtues.

THE

**T H E**  
**L I F E**  
**O F**  
**A D M I R A L**  
*Cornelius Martin Tromp.*

**A**dmiral *Tromp* was the youngest Son of a brave Father, whose Life we shall lightly touch on, the better to illustrate the Son's. *Martin Harpert Tromp*, Lieutenant-Admiral-General of the United Provinces, was born in the Year 1597. and at nine Years of Age his Father Captain *Harpert Martin Tromp* sent him to Sea ; he was with him under Admiral *Heemskerk* at the famous Battel of *Gibraltar*, where the *Spaniards* were routed by the *Dutch*, as also in a Voyage he made to *Guinza*, where his Father lost his Life in a Fight with an *English Privateer*. The *English* Master, after *Harpert's* Death, took his Ship, and forc'd young *Tromp* to serve him two Years as Cabin-Boy ; he was then set at Liberty,

Liberty, and at twenty Years old was made Quarter-Master under Captain *Lambert*, and afterwards Pilot of a Ship. He made a Voyage to the *Streights* in a Merchant-Ship, and was taken by the *Turks*, but by the Favour of the *Bassa* of *Algier* releas'd. In 1622. he rose to be Lieutenant of a Man of War, and Prince *Maurice* in 1624. gave him the Command of a small Frigat, in all which Employs he shew'd his Valour and his great Skill. In 1629. he commanded a Ship in Admiral *Hains*'s Squadron, who took the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet; the Admiral was kill'd in this Expedition, and his Ship being given to another who less deserv'd it than *Tromp*, he was disgusted, left the Service and liv'd retir'd in *Holland*, following an Employment that had relation to the Sea. In 1637. Lieutenant-Admiral *Dorp* also laid down his Commission, and Prince *Frederic-Henry* by recommendation of the *States*, gave *Tromp* the Command of the Fleet in the same Quality for one Year; when that was expir'd, he continu'd him with a more ample Commission; in 1639. he beat and destroy'd the *Spanish* Fleet on the *Kentish* Shore, and when King *Charles II.* was in *Holland* with the Ships revolted from the Parliament, *Tromp* gave him Instructions in maritime Affairs to his Majesty's great Satisfaction. He afterwards commanded a Squadron on the Coast of *England*; where in 1652. he met *Blake*, and

and fought him near Dover, which was the occasion of the first Dutch War, Tromp refusing, or delaying to strike to General Blake, Admiral of the Republick of England, and the Dutch made themselves the Aggressors in this War, by denying the Respect due to the English, Sovereigns of the Sea; yet this was not a Yacht sent out on purpose to desie the Dutch, but the Fleet of a Victorious Common-Wealth commanded by an Admiral, who woud never see the Honour of his Nation insulted. The States for some Reasons remov'd their Admiral Tromp, and put deWitt in his place, who being beaten by Blake, was the same Year displac'd, and Martin Tromp restor'd. He fought Blake again before Winter, and left the Victory in dispute betwixt both Nations The Year 1653. was the fourth Battel fought, wherein the English were Victorious, and in the fifth, this great Officer was kill'd, Fighting bravely with his Enemies; after his Friends had left him, he cry'd out in high Resentment, 'Since we must perish, let us at least sell our Lives dearly; no body comes to my Assistance, must I alone be a Victim to the Enemy.' a Shot took him in his left Temple soon after and he fell down, saying, *I have finish'd my Course, Courage* — which were his last Words. He had been in fifty Combats, in which he commanded as Chief, or was the next Person to him that did. He was

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so tenderly belov'd by the Sea-men, that  
they always call'd him their Father, and he  
reciprocally call'd them his Children. His  
most admirable Quality was Moderation and  
evenness of Temper in the greatest Heat of  
Action, giving Orders with as much Tran-  
quillity, as if he had been in his own House  
out of danger. The *States* made a very  
pompous Funeral for him: Themselves, the  
several Colleges of the Admiralty, the No-  
bility and People of Quality attending at the  
Solemnity. Their High and Mightinesses  
rais'd a Marble Monument over him in the  
New Church at *Amsterdam*, to the value of  
one thousand Pounds sterling. *Lewis de*  
*Nassau*, natural Son of Prince *Maurice* was  
propos'd to succeed him, and excus'd himself,  
as did Monsieur *Opdam*, Colonel of a Regi-  
ment of Horse, and Governour of *Heusden*  
for some time, but at last he consented, and  
was made Lieutenant-Admiral-General.

We now come to speak of his Son *Cer-  
nilius*, and we shall say nothing of his first  
Years, there seldom hapning in that time any  
Events worth the Curiosity of the Publick.  
He was made Captain of a Man of War be-  
fore he was twenty Years of age, and be-  
hav'd himself so bravely, and with such Con-  
duct, as gave evident Demonstrations of the  
great things he was design'd for. His first  
Enterprize was to *Salley* with Admiral *Galen*,  
to make Peace with those Corsairs, which  
was

was concluded on the 9th of February N. S. 1651; and in 1652. War was declar'd with England. The States sent a Squadron of Ships into the Mediterranean, under Vice-Admiral Catz, who met Stapleton with six English Men of War and some Merchant-Men at Leghorn, newly arriv'd from Smyrna, Catz inform'd the Governour that his Commission was to fall upon the English wherever he found them; that he had hitherto forborn it, not doubting but they wou'd not be suffer'd to discharge, and if they were, he shou'd be oblig'd to attack them. The Governour reply'd, That the Great Duke's Harbours were open to all Nations alike. After a long Dispute, the English unladed without any opposition from Catz; for which he was recall'd, and Galen sent to succeed him. Cornelius Tromp was in Catz's Squadron, and Galen when he arriv'd at Leghorn, left Captain Zaalingen to block up Stapleton, and himself went to cruise. The 6th of September 1652. he discover'd Bodley with four English Men of War and four Merchant Ships between Elba and Monte-Christo; he had ten Men of War with him, and attack'd Bodley, who defended himself so well, that he got off safe with his Convoy, losing only the *Phœnix*, a Frigat of forty Guns, which was boarded by two Dutch-men. The Dutch had two Captains kill'd, the Admiral was disabled, and Tromp was forc'd to refit at the Isle

ile of Corsica. The English made to Porto-Longone, and the Dutch follow'd them. But the Governour wou'd not permit Galen to disturb Bodley in that Port. Tromp's Ship was so shatter'd, 'twas render'd unserviceable, so he went aboard the *Phœnix* Prize, and the English resolv'd to retake it, as she lay in the Road of Leghorn; they mann'd three Boats with thirty Seamen in each, who at break of Day boarded the Frigat three several ways; the first Crew were order'd to cut the Cables, the second the Rudder and Sails, the third to engage the Dutch, if they resisted. The Ship thus surpris'd, Captain *Tromp* was alarm'd, rose out of his Bed and fir'd his Pistols on the English who were Masters of the Frigat, which not being able to prevent, he leapt into the Sea out of his Cabin-Window, and swam till he was taken up by a Dutch Boat that came to his assistance. The English without losing time sail'd to Naples, two Dutch Men of War gave chase to the *Phœnix*, tho' to no purpose, for she was a very good Sailer. This attempt offended the Great Duke so much, that he commanded the English Ships to go out of his Harbour. The Dutch wanted nothing more, having fourteen Men of War in their Squadron, and eleven hir'd Ships; Stapleton had but six at Leghorn, and Bodley now joyn'd with five more, had eight at Porto-Longone and a Fire-ship. Stapleton, however, defended himself with

with incredible Bravery, and had Bodley come up, as he promis'd, to his assistance, wou'd not have suffer'd the Dutch to boast of the Victory. Galen was kill'd in the Combat, and Stapleton when he had lost three quarters of his Men kill'd or wounded, wou'd have blown up his Ship, had not the Seamen hinder'd him, by which means that and three more fell into the Enemies hands. Tromp (Rear-Admiral) pursu'd the two other English Men of War, till they got up with Bodley, who sav'd the rest by a good Retreat.

In the year 1653. Capt. Tromp was created Rear-Admiral of the College of Amsterdam; for his Service in the Mediterranean. And 1654. he went with de Ruyter into the Straights; from the Christian Shore they past over to the Barbary, and thence Tromp cruis'd back towards Sally, in his way he took the Dog of th: Game, a Sallyman, for which the Cid, and the States of Sally, seiz'd the Consul, and two Dutch Ships in reprisal, refusing to continue the Peace, till de Ruyter forc'd them to it next year. Tromp was order'd with de Ruyter into the Sound, to assist the Danzickers, oppress'd by the Swedes, the only Enterprise of Note the Dutch Fleets undertook from the year 1657. to 1662. Then Rear-Admiral Tromp, and Captain Sckey, were sent to the Straights with ten Men of War, and de Ruyter to Africa with another

another Squadron ; whence he return'd again to the Straights, and there met orders from the States to leave the Squadron with *Tromp*, and to come himself home. *Tromp* was to conclude a Treaty with the *Algerines* and other *Corsairs*, and if they refus'd, to reduce 'em by force. He finding 'em intractable, took several of their Ships, and releas'd a great number of Christian Slaves. In 1663. he took two *Algerines*, one of eighteen, and the other of twenty Guns, free'd thirty *English* Slaves, and made one hundred and eighty *Turks*, and five *Renegados* Prisoners. The *Corsairs* on this were more inclin'd to Treat, confessing that *Tromp* had taken seven hundred of their Men in this Summer. The next year 1664. *de Ruyter* came again to Treat, but those *Barbarians* broke of the Treaty. Upon *de Ruyters* arrival, Admiral *Tromp* was recall'd, the States fearing they might want him on the Ocean ; for the Hostilities, and odious Barbarities of Sir *Robert Holms* in *Africa*, a large account whereof is printed in General *Valkenburg's* Letter, Governor of the Castle of the Mine, were sufficient to give the *Dutch* good reason to fear a Rupture with *England*. King *Charles*, 'tis true, disown'd *Holms* his proceedings to the *Dutch* Ambassador ; yet the States to prevent the worst, ~~very~~ dispatch'd two <sup>very</sup> good Sailors, to warn all Ships of War, and others of theirs, or their Subjects, not to enter any

Ports of *England*, and to give notice to the *East-India Men*, that they shou'd be on their guard; and they order'd our Admiral *Tromp* with twenty two Men of War to meet them, who cruising for 'em near *Hitland*, an Island on the Coast of *Norway*, they fell in with him at *Fairbills*, whence he Convo'y'd them safe into their several intended Ports in *Holland*. War was the year following, 1665, declar'd between the King of *England*, and the States of the *United Provinces*: a great Promotion of Officers for the Sea was made by their High and Mightinesses, and *Cornelius Tromp*, among the rest, Vice-Admiral of the College of *Amsterdam*.

The great Battle between the *English*, Commanded by the Duke of *Tork*, and the *Dutch* by the Baron *d' Opdam*, was fought off *Lestoff* the 12th. of June New-Stile, wherein the *English* came off Conquerors. The only Ship they lost was the *Charity*, disabl'd first by Admiral *Tromp*, and then taken by Captain *Haan*; whereas the *English* took nine *Dutch* Men of War, and burnt eight. The two *Dutch* Admirals were kill'd, *Opdam* and *Kortenaer*. On *Kortenaer's* death, *Foto Everisz* hoisted the Admiral Flag on his Ship, with which he drove through the thickest of his Enemies till he was disabl'd; having receiv'd seventeen Cannon shot under water, he retir'd to the *Mense*. This was taken by the best part of the Fleet for a flight, and

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thirty six follow'd him. *Tromp*, who thought Admiral *Evertsz* dead, hoisted the Admiral Flag; and, forsaken as he was, maintain'd the Combat, and cover'd several Tenders and Victuallers in their retreat, till his Sails and ordage were shot to pieces, and accompani'd with a few other Ships stay'd to the last of the Battle, *Evertsz*, *Swert*, and himself, charg'd five several times through their Enemies. We cannot omit a discovery that was made by the English, who say'd the People out of the *Maartseveen*, one of the Ships that were burnt, the Gunner was found to be a Woman, which was never known till then, though she had serv'd in the *Baltick* in the same Post, and always behav'd herself very honestly. The States wou'd have had the Fleet, shatter'd as it was, keep to Sea, for the honor of their Arm's, and to confound the reports of their Adversaries; who spread it over Europe that they had entirely destroy'd their Fleet. Three Deputies of the States General came to *Tromp*, and told him their Resolutions, that he shou'd not come into Port, but stand out to Sea. *Tromp* said he cou'd not obey them with Men who had so basely behav'd themselves in the Fight, and on whom he cou'd not depend; so he enter'd the *Texel*. The Deputies view'd the Ships that retreated, and found 'em very little damag'd, and the populace were so inrag'd with Admiral *John Evertsz*,

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figur'd that they rose on him, and wou'd have flung him into the water at the Brill, had he not been rescu'd by a Company of Soldiers, he was forc'd to clear himself to the States, and to the Council of War, Admiral *Tromp* being chief of the Council, in the Fort of the Texel, where *Onklaer*, *Evert de Marre*, *Brunning*, *Codde*, *Vandaburg*, *Vanderwalleke*, *Poel*, had their Arms broke by the Common Hangman, and two other Captains, *Huisman*, and *Vanderkaurme*, were degraded. The Master of Admiral *Kortenaer's* Ship, was condemn'd to stand under the Gallows with a Rope about his Neck. Thus did they punish their Cowards, and rewarded at the same time Captain *Haan*, who took the Charity, with a Present of ten thousand Guilders, and built a stately Monument in the Free Church at the Hague, over *Opdam*, their Lieutenant-Admiral-General, as also over *Kortenaer* at Rotterdam. This wise Republick being always at this Expence to render the Memory of their best Servants immortal, and incourage others to deserve the same honour in sacrificing their Lives for their Service. And in this they are imitators of the Republick of Rome, who thought no charge in Statues, and other Monuments of honour too immense for those who defended their Liberty, or enlarg'd their Empire.

Tromp the 15th of July 1665. was chosen Lieutenant-Admiral of Holland, the Post vacant by the death of Rortenaer. The Seamen were pleas'd with his advancement, and this Joy was Universal, their Love to him being equal to that they bore his Father; and now the Fleet being almost ready to Sail, the States General were at a loss who to put in Baron Odam's place. They first think of Tromp; but the Resolution with which he oppos'd the Deputies at his entrance of the Texel from the late Fight, had occasion'd several rumours injurious to his Reputation. The true reason of their hesitating was his zeal for the Service of the Prince of Orange, and, though the Seamen generally lov'd him, and chearfully obey'd him, this consideration prevail'd till they began to reflect on his Intrepidity and Knowledge in Maritime Affairs; they then resolv'd to give him the Command of the Fleet, on condition he had it under the inspection, and with the assistance of three Deputies, Messieurs Huygens, Cornelius de Wit, and Boreel. He accepted the Conditions, the Admirals, and the Deputies were aboard the Amity at the Texel, and the Fleet ready to put to Sea, when de Ruyter arriv'd at Esens from Guinea and the West-Indies. De Wit, Pensionary of Holland, being related to de Ruyter, or rather preferring his Republican Spirit to Tromp's respect for the Prince, procur'd de Ruyter

to be declar'd Lieutenant-Admiral-General. *Tromp* very justly disgusted, refus'd to serve, and desir'd a discharge from the Deputies; they told him they cou'd not do it but by order of the States General, and persuaded him to continue in the Service. The States also in answer to a Letter he wrote them on the Subject of his demission, intreated him to take no umbrage by the Promotion of *de Ruyter*, and avoided to give him a positive answer to his request so long, till *Tromp* was persuaded by his Friends to submit to the pleasure of their High and Mightinesses, and in obedience continu'd in his Command of Lieutenant-Admiral of Holland and Friesland. All Orders and Instructions were still giv'n out in his name till Admiral *de Ruyter* came on board, and it seem'd unjust that when *Tromp* had been so careful and industrious to Equip the Fleet, and got it in a condition to put to Sea, another shou'd be set over him to Command it. The Sailors were generally displeas'd; those of his Ship mutiny'd on account of their Anchors that were to be weigh'd, and they wou'd not do it but in the name of the Prince. The Mutineers were punish'd and appeas'd. This Fleet did nothing remarkable. The English under the Lord *Sandwich* had pick'd up four or five of the Dutch East-India Ships, and as many Men of War; they then return'd to their Ports, and *Tromp* follow'd them, sailing up the

the River of *Thames*, till he understood the *English* were ready to attack him with sixty Men of War, which was not true. He return'd to the main Fleet, and at a Council held *Noctm. I.* it was resolv'd to go home; the Sicknes having carry'd off a great part of the Seamen, infomuch that *Tromp* had fifty of his Crew dead and dying in two days time, so the several Squadrons return'd to their Ports.

In 1666. *France* declar'd War with *England*; and *Denmark* stipulated to set out thirty Men of War to assist the *Dutch*. About the beginning of the year Admiral *Tromp* desir'd he might change his Lieutenantcy of *Holland* and *Friesland*, for that of *Amsterdam*, which was granted. The 12th. of June the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets these Commanded by *de Ruyter*, and those by the Duke of *Albemarl*, fought between *Ostend* and *Dunkirk*. The Fight began by *Tromp*, who not being able to unmoor as lie wou'd have done, cut his Cables, and fell upon the Vice-Admiral of the White, Commanded by Sir George *Ayscue*, on board the Royal *Charles* of ninety Guns, which he disabled, and after a bloody Combat forc'd to retreat. *Tromp* drove in the *Friendship* through the thickest of the Enemy, till his Masts were brought by the board; his Fore-Mast and his Mizzen broken, and falle into the Sea, and his Ship uncapable of resistance. He after-

wards went aboard the *Utrecht*, and was with Captain *Adriansz* and Rear Admiral *Haen*, at the taking the Royal Charter. The next day *Tromp*, and Vice-Admiral *Vando Hulst*, fell into the main Body of the English, and fought like Men despetate. *Tromp* was hard put to't, and in danger of being burnt by a Fire-Ship in the *Utrecht*. In this distres *de Ruyter* came to his relief, and cleared him of the Enemy, who had brought *Tromp's* Squadron into the last Extremity, and *Ruyter* having but four Ships with him, the English might have done the same to the Lieutenant-Admiral-General, had they behav'd themselves with their accustomed Courage and Skill. The Dutch publish'd a Paper sign'd by their Deputies, and Officers aboard their Fleet, to prove the Victory was on their side. The English publish'd another printed by Authority, which affirm'd the contrary. Other accounts, and more large, are giv'n of this Engagement in General Monk's and *de Ruyter's* Lives. Admiral *Tromp* chang'd Ships so often in it, that the English ask'd the Dutch if they had five or six *Tromps* in their Fleet. Both Fleets took time to refit, and the Dutch privately drew some Troops out of their Garrisons, to put aboard their Fleet at Schoneveld. The 5th of July, *de Ruyter* unmoor'd from Wielingen, and was joyn'd by Admiral *Tromp*, with the *Amsterdam* Squadron, about Schoneveld. The Dutch

Dutch thought to surprize the English, and either to destroy their Fleet, or make a Descent, but were themselves surpriz'd when they saw a Fleet of eight Ships of War, thirteen Frigates, and ten Advice-Boats near Diep; this broke all their Measures for a Descent.  
The Fleets came in view of each other the 4th. of August, the Dutch Fleet was divided into three Squadrons, the first commanded by Admiral de Ruyter, the second by Admiral Everts and Tierk Hides, the third by Admiral Tromp and Van Meppel. The English White Squadron was commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, the Red by General Monk, and the Blue by Sir Jeremy Smith. Tromp with his usual Bravery drove through the Blue Squadron, and forc'd them to retire, whom he chas'd so far, that he forgot in the heat of his Victory to succour De Ruyter, and this Admiral wrote to the States, that he was abandon'd by him, which oblig'd Tromp in a long Letter of the 15th. of August 1666. to give their High and Mightinesses a large account of his Engagement, and the impossibility he was in to assist De Ruyter, which concludes with these Expressions, I cannot suffer without Reparation, that Admiral De Ruyter having no regard to the signal Services I have render'd my Country, shou'd by a Principle of Hatred or Jealousie, commit such an Injury to my Honour and my Reputation, as to make me pass for a Rascal, and a Man disaffected

fected to the State, vsince God has favour'd me so far, as to make the triumph over its Enemies with a small Strength, while he with a greater has nothing to balaunce on his side but Shame and Confusion. If I have acted any thing dishonourable or undutiful on this occasion, I am certainly incapable of serving my Country any farther. For this is not a time to suffer Rascals or Cowards in such Employes in the Navy, but rather to make choice of Captains Prudent and Valiant, who are ready to sacrifice their Lives and their Fortunes for the Service of the State, which disposition by the Grace of God I hitherto enjoy, and 'tis not in Admiral de Ruyter's Power, nor in any Man's to ravish it from me. The States having heard what both had writ, and fearing ill Consequences from their Division, referr'd the Matter to a Committee to examine, whose Chief was the Pensionary *de Wit*, an irreconcilable Enemy of *Tromp's* for his Affection to the House of Orange. No wonder then these Deputies came to a Resolution, 'That *Tromp* shou'd be summon'd to justify himself. That what he said did not agree with Admiral *de Ruyter's* Information, that 'twas absolutely for the good of the State, that one of the two Admirals shou'd be discharg'd, and that *Tromp* might be better spar'd than *De Ruyter*. This Resolution was agreed to by the States. The 23d. of August, according to their Summons,

mons, Admiral *Tromp* arriv'd at the *Hague*, and presented himself before the *States*; *De Wit* demanded his Commission in the Name of their High and Mightinesses. The Admiral answer'd, ' He was ready to obey their Orders, and thank'd their High and Mightinesses for the Honours they had formerly done him. However, lest there shou'd be any Mutiny amongst the Sea-men, who lov'd him more than any other Officer, the *States* forbade him leaving the *Hague* till further Order, or going, or writing to the Fleet, on Pain of being look'd on as Author of all the Mischiefs which might happen. His Commission was given to the Baron *Van Ghent*, Colonel of a Regiment of Marines, he at first refus'd it, till his Friend Admiral *Tromp* prevail'd on him to accept it. The English had the better of the last Battel, and had Sir *Jeremy Smith* done his Duty, *De Ruyter* might not have got off so well as he did. Twas thought by the Impartial, there was too much Envy in this Admiral's Complaints, and too much Heat in *De Wit*'s Prosecution of *Tromp*, who was the only successful Officer in the last Fight; he sunk the only Ship that was lost by the Enemy, the *Resolution* of sixty-four Guns. And thus did the Hate of *De Wit*, and his Inveteracy to the Friends of the Prince, prevail over the Merit of this Gallant Man, who wanted no Employ to enrich himself, having enough left

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left him by his Father. He was espoused by Monsieur d' Estrades the French Ambassador, with Offers of vast Advantage to him, and a Pension of fifty thousand Livres if he would enter into his Master's Service, to whom Tromp reply'd, That he had rather live like a private Burgher, and be faithful to his Country, than sacrifice it at the Expense of his Honour, whatever Offers were made him. In this Retreat we must leave him till the Year 1672, when after the Death of the Baron Van Ghent he again accepted of his former Commission. The second War which King Charles had with the Dutch broke out in 1672. and is elsewhere related. In the first Naval Fight, the Dutch lost the Baron Van Ghent, who was kill'd after he had behav'd himself with a great deal of Bravery. Tromp seeing the French at Land, and the English and French at Sea attack his Country, cou'd not be an idle Spectator of the Publick Calamity, but resolv'd to sacrifice his private Resentments to the Service of the State. The Prince of Orange restor'd to his Father's Office, put him, as has been said in the Post, he quitted of Lieutenant-Admiral of Amsterdam, and reconcil'd him entirely to De Ruyter; they embrac'd in presence of his Highness, and reciprocally promis'd to forget the past, and to live for the future like Brothers. The Joy of the Seamen, and of the Populace on this occasion,

deation, is inexpressible, and they now flat-  
ter themselves, that the English could never  
resist two such Generals in conjunction. The  
12th of May 1673. the Dutch Fleet rendez-  
vous'd at Schoneveld, to sail to the Mouth of  
the Thames, and by sinking Vessels there to  
stop it up. Before they sail'd, De Ruyter re-  
ceiv'd a Letter from the Prince of Orange, to  
be read to all the Sea-men, and that Admiral  
wrote to the Prince, That he did not doubt  
of Success, if, as his Highness had engag'd  
Lieutenant Admiral Tromp wou'd agree and  
live with him and the other General Offi-  
cers amicably, and without distrust in the  
same Union as they liv'd at present one  
with the other. To whom the Prince re-  
ply'd, That he had carefully recommended to  
Lieutenant Admiral Tromp to receive his Or-  
ders with due Respect and Obedience. The De-  
sign on the Thames Mouth failing, by the  
English Having timely Notice to prevent it;  
the Fleet after being eight Days at Sea, re-  
turn'd, and Tromp invited De Ruyter and all  
the General Officers aboard his Ship to Din-  
ner, where they renew'd and repeated their  
mutual Protestations of sincere Friendship;  
while they were at Table, the advanc'd  
Guard discover'd the Enemy. The 7th of  
June the two Fleets came within sight of each  
other, Prince Rupert commanded the English  
in Chief, and the Red-Squadron in the Battel,  
the Count d'Estrée the White, and Sprag the  
Blue.

Blue Tromp when they were about to engage, told the Sea-men, That nothing but his Love for his Nation brought him again to Sea, and begg'd them in so good a Cause to do their best for the Service of the State, and the Liberty of the United Provinces. Prayers being over, he spoke again to the same purpose. The Sea-men flung up their Caps, and shouted, Blessings on their Admirals, and then he attack'd Sir Edward Sprag. Tromp was in the *Golden-Lyon*, which was so torn, that he left it to go aboard the *Prince a Horse-back*, whose Captain *Van Bergen* was kill'd in her. He fought seven Hours, till the Main-mast tumbled into the Sea, he then chang'd his Ship for the *Amsterdam*, and engag'd in her till Night, and the Squadron he fought with retreated. De Ruyter and Tromp on this occasion gave particular Marks of their Friendship in their readiness to help each other; Tromp by the Assistance of De Ruyter, was deliver'd from imminent Danger, which he saw no hope of escaping, till De Ruyter appear'd to his Assistance, he cry'd out, Courage, my Lads, see the best of our Friends comes to help us, and I'll no more forsake him while I live. De Ruyter drove through the Enemy, and disingag'd Admiral Tromp; by his boldness in this Action, giving the best sign of a perfect Reconciliation. Both Fleets the 14th. of June renew'd the Combat, and Tromp again began it with brave

brave Sir Edward Sprag, who did Wonders. *Tromp* was the first and the last in this Fight, which was no more fortunate to the *English* than the former; and indeed, what Success cou'd they expect with such Allies as the *French*, who abandon'd them when they had most dependance on their Assistance. The *English* improv'd a fair Wind, and retreated to their Coasts, and the *Dutch* to *Schonewelt*, well enough satisfy'd that they were last on the Place of Battel. The *English* lost in this Fight three thousand Men kill'd and wounded.

The 1st. of Aug. the Royal-Fleets came again in sight of the *Dutch*, the *English* and *French* were together a hundred and fifty Sail, and the *Dutch* but a hundred, yet *Tromp* who commanded the Vanguard fir'd several Vollies to dare them to the Combat. The *English* avoided the Battel designing to draw off the *Dutch*, if they cou'd, from the Coasts of *Zeland*, that they might then land the Men which they had on Board for a Descent, so they retir'd and appear'd near *Zandvoort-Wikopzee*, which they cannonaded; the next Day they were seen off *Egmond* and *Petten*, and at last before *Helder* and the *Texel*. The Prince had posted a Body of Horse and Foot under the Duke of *Holstein* to guard the Coast, and arriv'd himself at the *Hague* from the Camp, where having held several Conferences on the present State of Affairs, he  
went

went to the Fleet, and was receiv'd with thirteen Vollies from the whole Navy. He settled Matters with *De Ruyter*, and the General Officers, and then return'd to the Camp. The next day they set Sail, and the 20th. of *August*, being hinder'd till then by contrary Winds, they saw the Enemy. Admiral *Tromp* led the Vanguard, *De Ruyter* the Main Body, and *Bankert* the Rear. Prince *Rupert* commanded the Main Body of the English, Count *d' Eustee* the White Squadron, and Sir *Edward Sprag* the Blue. The Dutch made several Movements to gain the Wind, and to prevent the Enemies attack, by attacking them first; at eight a Clock *Aug. 21st.* *Bankert*, the whole Order of the Fleet being inverted, fell upon Count *d' Eustee*, *De Ruyter* on Prince *Rupert*, and *Tromp* on *Sprag's* Squadron; the French fled immediately, only Rear-Admiral *Martel* fought as long as he cou'd, to the shame of *D' Eustee* and the rest of his Country-men, who stood off to the East, and were Spectators of the Battel. *Bankert*, when the French were retir'd, joyn'd with *De Ruyter*, and both very much distress'd Prince *Rupert*, who thought he was not strong enough to engage both, and retreated in expectation of the French returning to the Combat, which they were not forward to do; *Tromp* and *Sprag*, by this means, were left to fight alone, *Bankert* and *Ruyter* pursuing the Red-Squadron; this last be-

lieving

lieving *Tromp* might want his help, advanc'd to his Assistance, and *Bankert* follow'd him; Prince *Rupert* fear'd the same of *Sprag* and pursu'd them. In the mean while *Sprag* and *Tromp* were fighting with equal Obsturacy and Rage, as if they had sworn the Destruction of each other, and thus continu'd for six Hours with perpetual Fire of great and small Shot; *Tromp* by good Fortune not losing a Man all this while, tho' as my Lord *Ossory* told him, Sir *Edward Sprag* had four hundred dead and three hundred wounded in the *Prince-Royal*. *Kemphorn* and my Lord *Ossory* of the English Blue Squadron seeing *Sprag* with his Sails shot to pieces, and his Mizen-mast brought by the Board, renew'd the Combat with double Fury against *Sweers*, *Tromp*'s Vice-Admiral, and two or three Ships at once advanc'd against the *Golden-Lyon*, wherein was Admiral *Tromp*; and now she began to be in an ill Condition, which forc'd him to go aboard the *Cornet*; in this Ship he watch'd *Sprag*, who was also remov'd to the *St. George*, and did his utmost to defend the *Prince-Royal*. However, the *St. George* herself was at last so disabled, he was oblig'd to leave her, and put himself into a Boat to go aboard the *Royal-Prince*, but a little after a Shot sunk the Boat to the bottom, before he cou'd either reach that Ship, or regain the *St. George*. Thus was this valiant Knight, the Honour of our Nation unfortunately

V v drown'd

sitow'd, he was taken up with his Hands  
so fix'd on the Boat, he cou'd hardly be un-  
loos'd. *Tromp* and the Blue Squadron still  
fought it out, but the Blue woud have had  
the worst, after the Fate of the Admiral, had  
not Prince *Rupert* come to their Assistance.  
*DalRuyter* and *Banker* also joyn'd *Tromp*, and  
the Fight was now renew'd as fiercely and as  
bloody as ever, till Night, happily for the  
weakest, parted them. Both Nations claim  
the Victory, and *D'Estry*, tho' out of reach  
of the Cannon, puts in his Claim; of the  
*Dutch*, *de Liefde* and *Sweers*, Vice-Admirals,  
were kill'd; *The English* lost most Sea-men,  
the Ships of each side were miserably shat-  
ter'd, and whoever had the Victory, the  
*Dutch* repell'd their Enemies from their  
Coasts, which was as much as they cou'd  
hope for. The Numbers of Ships sunk or  
burnt was equal, and Sir *Edward Sprag's*  
Death in part, compensated by Admirals  
*Liefde* and *Sweers*, the former bury'd at *Rut-*  
*terdam*, the latter at *Amsterdam*; to both the  
States erected Marble Tombs and gave their  
Widows Pensions of two thousand *Gilders*  
yearly to each; six thousand *Gilders* as Pen-  
sion was also settled on *De Ruyter*, four thou-  
sand on *Tromp* and *Van Nessa*, and other Pen-  
sions to the Inferior Officers for their Ser-  
vices in this Battel. The State that thus re-  
wards her Servants, deserves to be well serv'd.  
The King of *England* weary of such a Con-  
federate

federate as Lewis XIV. is prevail'd on to make a Peace with Holland, which was concluded at Westminster the 19th. of February, N. S. separate from France. The Mighty Monarch durst no more appear on the Ocean afterwards. So De Ruyter was sent to the West-Indies in May following, and Tromp to harass and insult his Coasts, while by Land he was forc'd to abandon his Conquests as fast as he surpris'd them; and yet the Campaign of 172. is the eternal Flourish of his Flatterers and Historians.

The 23d. of June 1674. Tromp with a Fleet of fifty Men of War, beside Victuallers and Tenders, and seven thousand Men aboard, commanded by Count Horn, dropt Anchor to the East of Bell-Isle, and hearing there were but three thousand Men in the Island, resolv'd on a Descent. Count Horn summon'd the Governour of the Castle, who reply'd, *He was prepar'd to defend himself.* The 26th. Tromp and Horn went out in a Long-Boat to view the Shoar, and in what Place 'twas most proper to land. The 27th. the Signal was given for the Boats, and the Soldiers in them to make to the Shoar, while the Cannon from the Men of War cover'd their Descent as soon as the Dutch landed. The French retir'd, and the former march'd to the Castle, the Garrison sallid out and were repuls'd, and the Ships cannonaded the Castle furiously, which the French answer'd

as well as they cou'd. The 28th. the Dutch encamp'd at Soison, and carry'd off all the Cattel they met with to the Fleet. The 29th. the Gouvernour sent a Bark with a white Flag to desire leave to fish for his Garrison and the Fleet, which *Tromp* refus'd; the Dutch stay'd here two Days, without being able to do any thing material against the Castle, and they had not time to form the Siege. The second of July the Ships mov'd and dropt Anchor in the Bay of Bourgneuf. Lieutenant-Admiral *Tromp*, went to discover a landing Place, and the 4th. landed his Men, tho' with great Difficulty. The French fir'd once or twice and retreated to the Castle, which they also forsook, and the Dutch took Possession of it, pulling down the Flower-de-Lis, and setting up the Arms of Orange. They found in it seventeen Pieces of Cannon and carry'd them to the Fleet, and drove twelve Ships ashore, as also a Man of War of forty Guns at St. Martha, and took another, but cou'd not make much of their Descent. They ravag'd the Island for three Weeks together, carry'd off all the Cattel, and twenty thousand Crowns Contribution, to and their Ships. Twenty three thousand French regulated Foot and Militia, and above five thousand Horse were prepared to attack Count *Horn* and his seven thousand Dutch-men, which made Admiral *Tromp* think it time to retire; these and other French Troops

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Troops were kept up to defend the Coasts while he was on them, and long after he was gone. Thence the Admiral sail'd to Cadix, but the approach of the Winter broke all their Designs for that Season, and so the 4th of December he arriv'd with his Squadron in the Texel.

My Lord Arlington and my Lord Offord were then at the Hague, and acquainted the Admiral that King Charles desired to see him at his Court. Tromp in obedience to his Majesty's Pleasure went aboard the Yacht which waited for him, the 12th of January the Prince of Orange accompany'd him to the Brill. The 16th, he arriv'd at London, being met by the Dukes of York, Monmouth and Buckingham, and most of the People of Quality about the Town. The Crowd was so great by the Peoples coming to see so great an Admiral, that he cou'd scarce pass thro' it, and at the Exchange the Merchants were almost press'd to death the Day that he came there. The King treated his Illustrious Guest, as his Majesty knew how to do when he had an Esteem for a Person, with extraordinary Courteisie and Honour, gave him his Picture set with Diamonds, and a Patent for a Baronet (the Dutch by mistake say he was a Baron) hereditary to him and his Heirs. The French King being left by the King of England, the Bishops of Munster and Cologn thought

thought to fortifie themselves in the *North*, by a League with *Sweden*, which cost him dear ; and the *Dutch* enter'd into a Confederacy with the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and other Powers, to oppose the *Swedes*. The 18th. of *June* 1675. the *States* declar'd War with *Sweden*, but most of this Year was spent in Enterprizes by Land, where the Allies were successful in the *North*. *Tromp* with fifteen Men of War sail'd from the *Texel* the 7th. of *May*, and arriv'd in the Road of *Copenhagen*. Two Days after his Landing the King honour'd him with the Order of the Elephant. While *Tromp* was at *Copenhagen*, the *Danish* and *Swedish* Fleets fought, which News when the *Dutch* Admirals heard, he immediately set Sail and joyn'd the *Danes* with a Reinforcement of seven Men of War, and the 11th. of *June*, both Fleets engag'd again, the Combat was long and bloody, the Victory for some time doubtful, which at last inclin'd to the *Danes*; the *Swedes* lost ten Ships of War, and among the rest, the *Three Crowns*, of a hundred and thirty four Guns, and eleven hundred Men, one of the finest Ships that ever sail'd on the Ocean. The Allies pur-su'd the *Swedes* almost to *Stockholm*, *Tromp* made with his Squadron to the *Sound*, and anchor'd at *Koogerbecht*, and thence he sail'd to *Ulfstadt*, to cover a Descent which the King of *Denmark* design'd to attempt on *Schonen*,

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Schonen, *Tromp* summon'd to surrender the Place, who answer'd, That he was resolv'd to defend himself against all that shou'd attack him. The next Day, July the 7th, *Tromp* cannonaded the Town, while the *Danes* landed three thousand Men, and advanc'd to the Walls. *Tromp* had beaten the *Swedes* from the Ramps, and at six a Clock order'd the Soldiers to attack it on both sides. When the signal was given, the Inhabitants began to appear, and inform'd the *Danes* that the *Swedes* had abandon'd the Place. The 14th. the King of Denmark arriv'd with an Army of eighteen thousand Men, and immediately took *Helsingburg*, and the 15th. *Landscroon*. The 18th. he march'd to *Christianstadt*, and made himself Master of the Town by force. The *Swedes* having some time after demolish'd *Christianople*, the King of Denmark order'd *Tromp* to sail thither, where he arriv'd the 15th. of September, seiz'd the Town, repair'd the Fortifications, and made it stronger than before. The 14th. of December a Battel was fought between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden near *Helsingburg*, nine thousand Men were kill'd on both sides on the spot, and both pretend to the Victory. Admiral *Tromp* for his Services and Merit, was about this time created Count *Sylliesburg* by his Danish Majesty, and the *Danes* wanting more help to oppose the *Swedes*, his Majesty desir'd the Admiral to return to

Holland to solicite for him. The 20th. of March 1677, he arriv'd at the Hague, and thence waited on the Prince of Orange at the Siege of St. Omers. In May he was made Lieutenant-Admiral-General of the United Provinces vacant by the Death of De Ruyter at Syracuse in Sicily. The 9th. of June the Admirals sail'd from the Texel, but cou'd not reach Copenhagen in time to share in Admiral Juell's good Fortune, who had engag'd a Squadron of Swedes, and taken eleven Capital Ships; the rest wou'd have retir'd to Gottenburg, had not the Dutch cut off the Passage, burnt two and taken one Swedes Man of War. The 24th. of July the two Kings fought again near Landskroon, 5000 were kill'd, the Swedes kept the Field, and the Danes retreated to Landskroon to repair their Losses. Tromp and Juell plunder'd Smalland and Euland, and Island depending on the King of Sweden. Tromp after this assisted the Elector of Brandenburg in his Expedition on the Isle of Ruguen, which his Electoral Highness made himself Master of, tho' the Danes had before attempted it in vain, as also of the City of Straelzond in Pomerania, and the Isle of Danholm. The Admiral was a great Instrument in all these Conquests, and Peace being made in the North 1677. he return'd home crown'd with Glory and Honour.

Great were the Expectations of his Service in the last War with France, the Prince of Orange,

Orange, then King of *England* of blessed Memory, having nam'd him to command the *Dutch* Fleet in 1691. which Death prevented; he died after a long Sickness the 29th. of *May* the same year, and the 6th. of *June* his Body was carry'd to *Delft* to be bury'd in the *States* Monument, with his Father. His Wife was the Widow of Monsieur *Helmont*, by whom he had no Children. 'Tis impossible to exprefs the Grief of the *Dutch*, for the loss of this victorious Admiral, and too long to relate the Pomp of his Funeral. He was Brave to a Fault, a passionate Lover of his Country, and so zealous for her Interest, that it often transported him beyond his natural Moderation, and with all his great Qualities of a Soldier and a Sea-man, he was a very compleat Gentleman.

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
CHARLES V.  
Duke of LORRAIN.

THE French Kings have more than a hundred years past been endeavouring to get the Dutchy of *Lorraine* and *Bar* into their Possession, that lying very convenient for preserving, or enlarging their Acquisitions in *Germany*. *Lewis XIII.* oblig'd *Charles X.*<sup>IV</sup> Duke of *Lorraine*, to resign his Duchy to *Cardinal Francis*, his Brother, who being in years, the *French King* thought wou'd either have no inclination to Marry, or have no Children, and *Duke Charles* having only the *Prince X de Vaudemont*, whose Mother he did not

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not marry till after her Sons Birth, cou'd leave no Legitimate Issue. *Richlieu* hop'd this wou'd be for the interest of *France*. But Duke *Francis* after his Brothers Resignation, and the *French* King owning and congratulating him, procures the Popes Dispensation, and Marries his Cousin the Princess *Claude*, Sister to Duke *Charles's* Wife, by whom he never had Issue; and next themselves the nearest related to the Succession of *Lorrain*. This Princess, *Richlieu* intended to Marry to one of the Princes of the Blood, and was enrag'd that Duke *Francis*, had prevented him. He seiz'd the Duchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, and wou'd have got the new Duke and Dutches into his Power, but they escap'd to *Vienna*, where Prince *Charles* was born April 3. 1643.

Duke *Charles* went with his Troops into *Flanders*, and serv'd the King of *Spain*, till his Catholick Majesty grew jealous of his inclining to treat with *France*, and then secur'd his Person; on which Duke *Francis*, and his Family, through the Emperor's persuasions remov'd to *Brussels*, and took upon him the Command of the *Lorrainers* in the *Spanish* Service. He stay'd not long thère, for being ill us'd by the Gouvernour of the *Netherlands*, to revenge himself he deserted to the *French*, and went to *Paris*, where Prince *Charles* was giv'n to *Lewis XIV.* as an Hostage of his Fathers Fidelity. Here, as he

he was going to Vault, he had a Fall, which made the whole Court despair of his Life for some little time; but after two or three months indisposition he recover'd. While he was at Paris several Matches were propos'd for him, *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, and *Mademoiselle de Alencon*, the Duke of Orleans's Daughters. The King and the Duke of Orleans consented; the Prince was in Love with the Princess of Nemours. Her Mother and Duke Charles were for it, the Court agreed at last; the Contract was sign'd, and Duke Charles boggling about surrendring his Duchies immediately, which had been in part restor'd to him by the Pyrenean Treaty, broke it off then. The young Prince was accus'd of threatening his Uncle's Life; which, though 'twas a falsehood rais'd by his Enemies, Duke Charles believ'd, and in a Passion made the French King his Heir, by an Instrument sign'd the 6th. of February 1662. The King had hitherto treated Prince Charles with a great deal of Differenc, but this Donation alter'd his Majest, who now took little notice of him.

The Duke of Lorraine threw himself at his Majesties Feet and pray'd him to be his Protector, as he had hitherto been, and rememb'rd he had engag'd his word that he should Marry *Mademoiselle de Nemours*; that he wou'd not improve his Uncle's hate of him to his disadvantage. The King seem'd surpriz'd,

surpriz'd, and looking severely on the Prince, answer'd, *Kings don't Govern themselves like other Men; there are certain State Maxims which are a Law to them, and 'tis natural for 'em to obey 'em*, meaning that Sovereign Law of the Interest of the Crown. The Prince perceiving there were no hopes for him, made his escape that very evening, with only one Gentleman, and a *Valet de Chambre* to attend him. His Majesty was at first surpriz'd at the Prince's retirement; yet pleas'd himself to think, after a little reflexion, that he shou'd be rid of his importunities. Prince Charles rode night and day, till he came to *Besançon*, where his Father had order'd him to stay till he heard from him how things went after his departure; but fearing to be pursu'd, he posted forward to *Rome*, where the Pope gave him good words, but convinc'd him, that as willing as he was to Protect him, 'twas not in his power. From *Rome* he went to *Vienna*, where the Emperor receiv'd him like his Brother, and declar'd he was mightily concern'd for his misfortunes, and in proper time wou'd do his utmost to restore him to the Inheritance of the Duchies of *Lorraine* and *Bar*, which the Duke *Charles* cou'd not Alien from his rightful and lawful Heir, if his Resignation to Duke *Francis* were invalid. In the pretended Treaty which the Duke of *Lorraine* had made with the French King, 'twas stipulated that an Article, which gave

gave the Princes of *Lorrain* the Privileges of Princes of the Blood Royal of *France*, and declar'd 'em Heirs to the Crown after the Line of *Bourbon*, shou'd be recorded in the Parliament of *Paris*, as well as in all other Parliaments in that Kingdom; which Duke *Francis* oppos'd on his own account, and on his Sons, and the Duke *de Vendome* in his own behalf: other Princes and Peers of *France* also remonstrated the injustice of <sup>the</sup> Treaty; but the King going in Person, attended by four thousand of his Guards to the *Palais*, affrighted the Assembly so much, that 'twas register'd the same day, the 27th. of Feb. 1662.

Duke *Francis* by his frequent Complaints made some impression on his Brother Duke *Charles*, so that the latter began to repent; and study how to evade executing the Treaty. The *French* King was soon sensible of his Intentions, and order'd the Governor of *Nancy* to possess himself of *Marsal*, which was by the second Article to be surrender'd to him. Prince *Charles* hearing of this intended Violence; resolv'd to prevent the *French* King's taking the Place without paying for it, and posting from *Vienna*, threw himself into the Town. He immediately dispatch'd an Express to his Uncle, to assure him his only design was to defend his Interests, and sacrifice his Life in his Service; but the Duke jealous of this Enterprize of his

his Nephews, was extreamly offended with him, and forbade him to stay in his Territories. He cou'd not tell how to put up this last Affront from his Uncle, and hearing the King's Resentment was ill grounded, he resolv'd to justify himself in Person, and went to Paris. He there address'd himself to Monsieur le Tellier, who told the King of his arrival, and this Monarch sent the Marques de Villequier to him, with an order to be gone presently, and an Exempt of the Guards was commanded to attend him till he was out of his Dominions. The Prince immediately obey'd these hard Commands, and being accompany'd with his Exempt left Paris, and pass'd by the Hotel de Nemours, without waiting on the Princess, his Mistress, for which he was generally blam'd. They were in effect marry'd, and the French King having sign'd the Articles wherein he own'd him as Heir to the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, had he seen Mademoiselle de Nemours, in the disposition she and her Mother were in towards him, it is thought the Princesses Love wou'd have prevail'd over his Delicacy, and suffer'd him to consummate the Marriage. The Prince and his Attendant soon reach'd the Frontiers of France, wheres his Guard parted from him, and Prince Charles return'd to the Imperial Court, returning since his Uncle, and Ethelbert King, had him so barbarously,

barbarously, to remain in the Emperor's Service. A little after his return the War broke out in *Hungary* against the *Turks*, the Emperor gave him a Regiment of one thousand Horse, with which he joyn'd the *Imperial* Army just as the Fort of *Serin* surrender'd. He long'd with impatience for an opportunity to signalize himself, which quickly offer'd: a Detachment of eight thousand *Turks* being Commanded by the *Grand Visher* to pass a River which parted the *Turks* and the Christian Armies. They fell on the Right Wing of the *Imperialists* with so much Fury, that they forc'd 'em to give ground, which oblig'd *Mantecucci* to tell the Prince of *Lorraine*, who was in the Left Wing, that He was compell'd to make use of his Regiment in this Extremity, and was sorry for the Peril he wou'd be expos'd to. The Prince reply'd, He rejoyc'd that he had an opportunity to expose his Life for the good of Christendom, and that he wou'd beat the Enemy back or die; which promise he perform'd, breaking through the *Turks*, after he had charg'd them four times, before they gave way. He snatch'd the Colours from a *Turk*, who was about striking the Spear into his Breast. Five Thousand Infidels fell on the spot, and the Count de *Lanville*, Mareschal de Camp, wrote to Duke *Francis*, that the Emperor o'rd the safety of his Army to the bravery of Prince Charles.

Charles. Such was the Success of his first Campaign in the year 1663.

The Fatigues of a Camp, and his going into Silesia, a sickly Country, to put his Army into Winter Quarters, which he wou'd do himself, threw him into the Small-Pox, and he no sooner recover'd his health, but another misfortune befel him, the Marriage of *Mademoiselle de Nemours* with the Duke of Savoy, the Pope having Dispens'd with her former Contract.

In 1669. King Casimir of Poland dy'd. The Duke of Newburg, and the Prince of Conde, were Candidates for that Crown, and Prince Charles appear'd also with greater Interest, by the means of the Empress Dowager, who gain'd the Emperor, and if he had been elected, his Imperial Majesty, wou'd have giv'n him his Sister the Princess *Eleonora Maria* in Marriage; yet all their Ex-pence and Cabals cou'd not hinder the Election of *Michael Wiesnowiski*, who was Crown'd the 29th. of September, and also took the Arch-Duchess *Eleonora Maria*, to be his Queen. This and the death of Duke Francis, were dreadful losses to the Prince of Lorrain. His Father dy'd the 27th. of January, 1670. and the same year the French King drove his Uncle out of his Dominions forcing him to fly for Refuge to Foreign Princes, whom he found very little dispos'd to receive him.

In the mean time the Rebels in Hungary became formidable, and call'd in the Turks; occasion'd by the Emperors Army living at Discretion on them, and his severity to the Protestants, which has been the cause of all his vast Charge and Perils; for if he had continu'd the Hungarians in possession of their Civil and Religious Liberties, they woud have defended him from the Infidels, and he had been at leisure to turn all his Forces on Lewis XIV. more to be fear'd than the Turk or Tartar, as being more Ambitious, more Cruel, more False, and more Powerful. In the year 1671. General Spork was sent against the Hungarians, and Prince Charles with him made General of the Horse. The Army reduc'd most of the Revolters, and then the Prince return'd to Vienna. The next year 1672. War was declar'd by the French King against the United Provinces, and Prince Charles refusing disadvantageous offers made him by that Monarch, serv'd in the Elector of Brandenburg's Army on the Rhine, as General of the Imperial Cavalry. This Army did very little, haying Monieur de Turenne to deal with. The King of Poland dy'd the year following, and the Emperor resolv'd to Marry his Sister the Queen Dowager to the Prince; yet neither her Interests, nor his Imperial Majesties, cou'd prevail against the Grand Marechal Sobieski, who lately had won the famous Battle of Choizin. The Summer

Summer following he serv'd in Flanders, and signaliz'd himself in the Battle of Seneffe, where he was dangerously wounded; and the next Campaign he was again wounded at the Siege of Hagenau, besieg'd by Montecuculi, after the Viscount de Turenne's death in Germany. The 20th. of September his Uncle the Duke of Lorrain dy'd crown'd with Laurels at Coblenz, having lately defeated the Mareschal de Crecy, and taken him Prisoner of War at Treves. Prince Vaudmont, who was at the Head of the Troops of Lorrain at Kyren, sent an Officer to notify his Fathers death. Prince Charles went immediately to their Camp, led the Lorrainers, his Subjects, to Montecuculi, and enter'd 'em in the Emperors Service. The Prince, whom we must now style Duke of Lorrain, or Charles V. was Condol'd, and Complemented by all the Princes of Europe, except the French King, who was himself oblig'd by the King of England, Mediator of the Treaty of Peace then on Foot at Nimeguen, to grant the President Cannon, the Dukes Minister there, Pasports with the Title of our Brother the Duke of Lorrain. For which his Highness wrote a Letter of thanks to the States General, who did him great Service by their good Offices in this Affair.

In the year 1676. the Duke of Lorraine Commanded the French Army, and Mansfeld, having obtain'd leave to return to *Kievna*, left the Command of the Imperialists to by the Emperor's Order, to the Duke of Luxembourg. Their Armies were near equal as to the number, consisting each of fifty thousand Men. Luxembourg was not soon convinc'd that the Duke of Lorraine would rather attack him than besiege *Philipburgh*, which place was block'd up some time before, but being confirm'd of the contrary by several persons, he advanc'd himself to meet him with a great Detachment, and command'd the rest of the Army to follow him. The Duke of Lorraine had possess'd himself of an Eminence, whence he made a dreadful fire on the Enemy. The advanc'd Guard of the Duke of Luxembourg having pass'd a River between the two Armies, was forc'd back by the Imperialists, he lin'd the Hedges with his Infantry, to prevent the Germans from pursuing farther, which drew on a Combat of two hours, not at all to *Luxembourg's* advantage. The French were the first that broke up from the Post they were in, *Luxembourg* sending away his Baggage by night, and follow'd with his Army, leaving some Dragoons, and some Battalions of Infantry in the Defiles to favour his retreat; which the Imperialists perceiving, fell on the French, and driving them from their Posts, broke

## PLATE II. Charles VI. D. of Lorrain. 52

upon them, and had it not been for the Lord of Offen, who at the Head of his Regiment, maintained his ground, the French Army had been entirely defeated. The Duke of Luxembourg having by the bravery of the Imperialists got a Rivolet behind him, encamp'd, and entrench'd himself. The Duke of Luxemburg close, and encamp'd in his view, and Cannobade his Army; but Luxembourg's Camp was so secure, the Duke of Lorraine could not force it; so he march'd to Strasburg, which had declar'd for the Emperor. This Action happen'd near Schelz. From Strasburg the Germans march'd to the Siege of Philipsburg. The Prince of Baden Dourlach General of the Army of the Circle, had the Conduct of the Siege, which was accompany'd with many difficulties. The Garrison was numerous, the Rhine over-flow'd; yet in four months the Place was surrend'red, Luxembourg not being able to relieve it, through the Courage and Watchfulness of the Duke of Lorrain. The French General, to revenge himself of this Affront, was building a Bridge over the Rhine near Brifac, in order to attack Friburg, which the Duke of Lorrain fearing, threw a good body of Troops into the place. Being prevented, the French General march'd forwards and backwards, and the Imperialists march'd and countermarch'd to observe him, till the season drove both Armies into Winter-Quarters.

This Success of Charles V. gave great hopes of him, and he began to think of entering into his Country, where his Subjects long'd passionately to see him; this made him get ready so early as to take the Field in May 1677. His Troops were to Rendezvous on the Rhine, near Strasburg, while the Prince of Saxe-Eisenach built a Bridge over that River, to enter another way into Alsace. This General commanded the Troops of the Circles, in the room of the Prince of Baden, who dy'd at Philippsburg. The Mareschal de Crequi commanded the French, who were never in so great fear as at this time; the Duke of Lorrain having sixty thousand Men in his Army. He pass'd the Rhine over the Bridge of Strasburg, with a Resolution to force the Passages of the These; and Prince Saxe-Eisenach enter'd Alsace at the Head of the Troops of the Circles. The Duke of Lorrain laid up Magazines at Treves, and sent to seize the Castle of Illingen, whose Garrison surrender'd at Discretion, and afterwards he did the same by almost all the Cities on the River Sarre, and then follow'd the French, who were near la Scille. These on the approach of the Imperialists, broke up their Camp, and pass'd that River. The Duke of Lorrain did the same in five or six places at once; Mareschal de Crequi having receiv'd a Reinforcement of eight Squadrons of the Gards du Corps, and  
abit p x x as

as many of Gens d' Arms, and Light Horse, threw a Bridge over la Scille, as though he intended to repass the River, but suddenly by a fein'd march took the Road to *Merviller*, whence he drove a Body of Imperial Guards, after they had made a stout resistance. The Duke of *Lorrain* retir'd a little, to draw him down in the Plains, which the Mareschal refusing, the Germans repass'd the *Seille*, and march'd towards *Metz*, the Duke ordering the Fort of *Espli* to be attack'd in their way. *Crequi* sent a Detachment of two thousand Men to succour the Fort, who were repuls'd so warmly, that most of 'em flung themselves into the River, and the rest broke down the Bridge which the Mareschal had laid over it, that the *Imperialists* might not pursue 'em. The Duke of *Lorrain* and the Marques of *Grana* with twenty Horse going to view the place where his Uncle beat the Mareschal de *Crequi*, Anno 1675. was like to have fallen into an Ambuscade of three hundred French Horse, had not the Peasants giv'n notice of it. The Post the *Imperialists* were in, being inconvenient for their Convoys and Foraging, by reason of the neighbouring *Garison*, which the French had near their Camp; the Duke march'd towards the *Moselle*, and pass'd it, believ'g twou'd oblige the French to a Battle, which they avoiding, he march'd to the *Muse*, to give the Enemy a Diversion on that side.

The Duke of Lorraine, who, when he heard that the French were marching against him, thought it was only meant to pass the Rhine, and saw not his farther design on him, till when he was advanc'd so far, 'twas impossible for the French to hinder him; so they retreat'd into Lorraine. The French King, who guess'd the Duke of Lorraine's Intentions, sent the Marshal de Schomberg with twenty-one Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, and some Militia to cover Sedan. Mongon was abandon'd to the Germans, who rais'd large Contributions in the Country, and then the Duke turn'd about, designing to joyn the Prince of Saxe-Eisenach, who was indeed in great want of assistance, being encompass'd in an Isle near Strasburg, where the Mareschal de Grequi with ten thousand Horse forc'd him to throw himself, with three thousand, and afterwards to surrender, on Condition he shou'd bear Arms no more for that Campaign. The Duke of Lorraine march'd night and day to help him, when he heard this dismal news, which was not his only mortification; for the Duke seeing de Grequi refus'd to fight him, his Troops being extreamly fatigu'd, retir'd and thought of disposing 'em into Winter Quarters. The Mareschal seem'd to decline for the same purpose; but as soon as the Imperialists were gone off, he invested Friburg with his Cavalry, while his Infantry, by short marches, follow'd to form the Siege. The Duke of Lorraine, when he heard

## Part III. Charles V. D. of Lorrain. 62

which he was very much surpriz'd; how-  
ever, he dispatch'd immediately an Express  
to the Gouvernour, that he shou'd not be  
distract'd, for he wou'd march to relieve  
him, which was not so easie to be done as  
said, the wayes being very bad; insomuch,  
that before he was got half way, he was  
inform'd the place was surrendered, though  
it was thought the Gouvernour was too  
hasty.

In the mean time the President Canon,  
and the Baron de Sérinchamp at Nimeguen,  
Plenipotentiaries for the Duke of Lorrain, had  
several Conferences with the others, and the  
Peace being nigh concluded by all the  
greater Powers, the French King's Ambassa-  
dors gave in these Propositions to the Medi-  
iators, as the only Terms their Master  
wou'd grant to Charles V. either to restore  
him according to the Pyrenean Treaty, with-  
out changing a word of those Articles, or  
to yield him up all his Estates, reserving  
Nancy and the High-way for the Passage of  
his Troops into Germany in Sovereignty to  
the French King with Lonwick and its depen-  
dencies, offering an equivalent for the last,  
and for Nancy, the City of Toul. The Pre-  
sident Canon rejected these Proposals, and  
said, 'If the Allies wou'd not remember their  
Engagements to support his Master's Inter-  
ests, he wou'd rather abandon his Country  
than accept of such dishonourable Condi-  
tions.'

tions. The Emperor having resolv'd to marry his Sister the Queen Dowager of Poland, sent an Express to the Duke of Lorrain, for him to come to Vienna and conclude his Marriage. This News was so agreeable to him, that not being able to contain his Joy, he said, *He was now comforted for the Loss of Friburg, and the Honour his Majesty did him, was a Presage that his ill Fortune wou'd cease to persecute him; that next Campaign he wou'd be early in the Field, to put the Mareschal de Crequi in mind of the Valour of the Dukes of Lorrain.* So having dispos'd of every thing to Content in the Garrisons on the Rhine, he was making preparation to part for Vienna, when an Accident at Philipsburg had like to put an end to his Hopes and his Life together; for passing one day over the Bridge of that place, and stepping on a Plank that was not nail'd, it gave way, and down he fell into the Ditch, though all the hurt he receiv'd, was a small Contusion in his Thigh; the Governour was accus'd and arrested for Treason, but afterwards let go for want of Proof. The Duke went to the Baths of Baden, and thence to the Imperial Court at Newstadt, where he was receiv'd magnificently, and marry'd by the Bishop of Newstadt the same Night he arriv'd. We need not enter into the design of this Solemnity, 'tis enough to say, the Pomp was in private, and the Joy universal; he did not stay long

at Court, but being impatient to recover *Friburg*, he arriv'd at his Head-Quarters at *Worms* in April 1678. and march'd with an Army of fifty thousand Men by the beginning of May to execute the Designs before concerted. The French at first were not so numerous but the Mareschal de *Crequi* was so often reinforc'd, that they were soon equal one with the other. The Germans encamp'd between *Offemburg* and the Fort of *Kiel* to cover the Bridge of *Strasburg*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s great aim was to hinder the French from entring the *Brissag*; to that end he laid a Bridge over the *Rhine* above *Stratsburg*, and march'd with his Army into Upper *Alsace* to draw *Crequi* after him, while the rest of the German Troops were to besiege *Friburg*. The Mareschal guessing his Design, encamp'd between *Brisac* and *Schellestadt*, in a place where he cou'd either oppose the *Imperialists* Passage into *Alsace*, or enter by *Brisac* into the *Brissag*; he also threw two Battalions into *Friburg* before Prince *Herman* of *Baden* was prepar'd to hinder him, and form the Siege as the Duke of *Lorrain* had directed. The Mareschal de *Crequi* considering twas necessary to enter the *Brissag* before the *Imperialists* were in a Condition to enterprise what they had resolv'd, pass'd the *Rhine* over the Bridge of *Brisac*, and another he had laid over the River a League below that Place. The Duke

The Life of Charles Duke of Mayenne.

old and falsehood blinks with vindication. By  
obligations to fight and repass the River, so the  
two Armies made given to make hastes and  
unadvisedly didst found themselves separated  
only by the River Aisne, which was fordable  
yea by the brim of the sidefiles; height of them  
durst marche bathers by the river ere it is come  
high. Skirmishes every day; and Marceau  
and Gouemet marche through all the day  
soe as to intend only to sanguinate the Army  
and hinder their attempt upon Paris,  
which nobly drawed Barret, conceitling  
himselfe with scathing, someladvantageous Post  
where he could not be attacked, without ventur-  
ing a battle. The Duke of Lorraine  
despairing of his Measur'd broken, pass'd  
the River himself, and posted himself between  
Paris and when Erquy de Arisy, w hoping this  
would infallibly bring him to Combat, the  
Mareschall de Cray le broke Mys; indeed the  
same Day, and encamped on an Eminence  
a League from Cray, whereby he fortify'd  
his Camp: so well, that the Imperialists cou'd  
not force it. The Duke of Lorraine frequent-  
ly offer'd the Mareschall de Cray Barret, and  
the Mareschall de Cray das spesn hinder'd  
him from following on as they continu'd in  
the River till their Forrage abd their Pro-  
visions were spent. The Mareschall de Cray  
whose Army suffered most, besolv'd to pass  
the River, and remov'd into a Plain where he  
might plentifully subsist, and as soon as the

MAY

Duke

Duke of Barre, who had advised his Resolution, presented himself to oppose the Battle, who not being able to do it, he possessed himself of Pforzheim, where he believed he should now be attack'd; nor imagining the French designed to strike before the day was over, in some disorder, and believing they were stronger, readily gave battle, and march'd for that purpose towards the Germanies. The Duke of Lorraine immediately call'd a Council of War on the approach of the French, where he was the only Person who was for the Battle, the rest advising they ought to wait a more favourable Opportunity of the Motion of the French Army, and besides, it would be better to fight on the other side of the Rhine than in their own Territories, which would remain at Prey to the Enemy. If Fortune shou'd not favour them, and the Marshal de Crequy must re-pass the River, not having wherewith to subsist long on this side; the Duke seeing his Advice over-power'd by the rest of the Council, retir'd towards Offenburg; which was not very happy for him, for his Rear was presently charg'd by the French; however, he made good his Retreat to Offenburg with the loss of eight hundred Men. The French lost as many, but the Duke was in despair to see he cou'd not have his will, fancying had he fought, he had cut off the whole French Army. The Armies a little after went

went into Winter-Quarters, in expectation  
of the general Peace at Niemyno. Every one  
sign'd it, except the Duke of Lorrain, who  
chose rather to live like a private Man, than  
sign a Treaty on such hard Conditions; and  
all Europe applauded his Courage and his  
Prudence in so critical a Juncture. The  
Duke having nothing now to do on the Rhine,  
went to Vienna to his Wife, the Queen of  
Poland, intending to serve in Hungary, if the  
Emperor pleas'd, the Troubles in that King-  
dom not being appeas'd. His Highness be-  
ing recover'd of a fit of Sickness, joyn'd the  
Imperial Troops near Presburg, where the  
Emperor came himself and saw the Army  
drawn up in the Plain of Kitzen; after which  
general review, he gave the Duke of Lorrain  
the command of all his Forces. The Turks  
were already arriv'd in the Neighbourhood  
of Belgrade, and the Duke while they were  
fatigu'd with a long March, thought fit to  
surprise some place or other that might put  
a stop to them, and cover Vienna. Gran or  
Newhausel were the only Places he cou'd at-  
tack, and he resolv'd on the former, as the  
easiest to be effected; he was marching thi-  
ther with an Army of forty thousand Men,  
and then he heard that the Tunki had not  
only thrown Succour into the place, but that  
the Grand-Kiser march'd with a great Army  
on the side of Buda, which made him think  
no longer of besieging Gran; however, he  
posted

Part II. Charles D. of Lorrain. 1633

posted himself before Newhausel. The Bassa had sent forth such large Detachments, that the Duke thought he cou'd not resist the Imperialists; and the Governor certify'd with their approach, sent the Duke word, That if he attempted to besiege him, he shou'd be look'd on as answerable for the Rupture of the Truce between the two Emperors; which Message the Duke contain'd, and went on forming the Siege, and was in good forwardness when he heard the Turks were coming against him with an Army of two hundred thousand Men. He was loth to raise the Siege that appear'd in so fair a way of Success, yet he cou'd not help it; then Grand-Seignior was arriv'd himself at Belgrada, and the Ottomans march'd towards him with so much diligence; the Duke was apprehensive of being surpriz'd, so he lodg'd some of his Infantry (the best he cou'd do) in a few Houses a Mile from Newhausel to favour his Retreat, and retir'd to Camorra, into which place he threw some Men, and hearing the Turks follow'd, he march'd to the Isle of Schut, and passing by Raab, on a Bridge he had caus'd to be laid there, he encamp'd in a Post very convenient, where he was scarce arriv'd before the Enemy appear'd, and encamp'd between Alba Regalis and the Town of Raab, there being only the River that bears the same Name between the two Armies, to the terror of the Imperialists. The Tartars swam the

the River, plundering and burning all before them as far as the *Leithe*, which separates *Hungary* from *Austria*. This and the danger he was in, being reduc'd by the Detachment he had sent to ~~the Sumis~~ of *Raab* and *Comorra*, to twenty five thousand, forc'd the Duke to retire towards *Vienna*, but with a great deal of difficulty. As soon as they broke up, they heard six thousand *Hungarians* who guarded a Pass were deserted to the Infidels, which extremely terrify'd the *Imperialists*, and scarce any of them wou'd venture out for Intelligence. News being brought that the *Turks* were no more than a League off a River the *Germans* were about to pass, the Horse, whatever the Officers cou'd do to the contrary, left the Foot; the Duke did and said all he cou'd think of to keep them to their Posts, for the *Ottomans* had already attack'd his Rear, pillag'd the Baggages of the Duke of *Sax-Lauenburg*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* and *Montecuculi*, and cut off the Guard: The Foot ~~then~~<sup>then</sup> left, began to flee, when the Duke of *Lorrain* rallying his broken Troops, with his *Sabre* in his Hand, open'd a Passage through the Enemy, and the Horse encourag'd with the Actions of their General, beat back the *Turks*, who did not expect such a reception. The Duke having disengag'd his Army, did not think proper to pursue the *Ottomans*; so he continu'd his march, and arriv'd the 2d. of July

1683.

1683. safely in the Isle of *Leopoldstadt*, under the Cannon of *Vienna*, where the rest of his Cavalry expected him. The *Grand-Viser* came directly for *Vienna*, whatever was said to the contrary, and resolv'd to besiege the City; his Army notwithstanding the great Detachments he had made, still consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand Men; the *Tartars* first advanc'd within two Leagues of the Place, defeated some Regiments and burnt several Villages. The Emperor was frighten'd to hear they were so near, and went from *Vienna* to *Linz*, and a week after, with his whole Court to *Passau*. The Duke of *Lorrain* left his Camp in the Isle of *Leopoldstadt*, and march'd over four Bridges on the side toward *Moravia*; the *Turks* pursu'd him close, and the Duke sent out General *Schultz*, who repuls'd the Enemy; after which he posted himself on the other side of the Bridges over the *Danube*. The Emperor dispatch'd Expresses to the King of *Poland* to demand his Assistance, who wrote to his Imperial Majesty, *He wou'd not fail to be in the Neighbourhood of Vienna by the beginning of September.* This was a short time for the getting his Army ready, but seemingly too late, considering the *Turks* began that Siege the 14. of *July*, and threaten'd Count *Staremburg* the Governour, to put all to the Sword, if he did not surrender. While the Infidels advanc'd their Works, the Duke of *Lorrain* wrote to

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the brave Gouvernour, ‘ That Troops were marching from all places for his Relief, the Saxons, Franconians, Poles and Imperialists; that the King of Poland wou’d come in Person, as also the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria; that the Emperor was as near as Lintz to encourage the besieg’d; that he wou’d try all ways, and expose himself to all manner of Danger, rather than abandon Vienna. He was indefatigable in his endeavours to disappoint the Enemy, who by direction of the Male-Contents, thought to hinder his joyning with the King of Poland. He continually kept the Turks in play by his Excursions; and the Visher in the mean while push’d on the Siege vigorously, and Count Staremburg defended the Place with extraordinary bravery. The Diseases in the Ottoman Army, the Losses they had sustain’d by the Sallies of the besieg’d, and Rencounters with the Duke of Lorrain’s Detachments, had very much diminish’d them, and they began to despair of their Conquest. They wou’d not presently hearken to those who gave them notice of the King of Poland’s approach, and advis’d them to prevent his Junction with the Duke of Lorrain, and did not entirely believe it, till an intercepted Letter to Count Staremburg inform’d them the Poles were within three days march off Vienna. The King of Poland according to his Promise, arriv’d at Hailbron, four Leagues from Vienna,

by

by the beginning of September, and the Duke of Lorrain had so well taken his Measures, that the Poles and the Imperialists joyn'd without any Opposition. Count Staremburg had given notice by a Signal, 'That he was at the last Extremity; and the Duke answer'd by others, 'That Relief was ready. All the Forces design'd for this Enterprize, being joyn'd, the King of Poland march'd at the Head of the Christian Army of a hundred thousand Men, with a Resolution to attack the Infidels, and force their Camp. The Grand-Vizier, tho' he was prepar'd to defend himself, was surpriz'd when he saw the Van-Guard appear on a Hill; he began to repent he had hearken'd to the Advice of the Bassa of Buda and met the Christians: The Bassa of Adrianople now advis'd him to raise the Siege, and carry off the Army by the way of Newhausel, alledging the Example of Soliman the Great, who did the same in the like Case. The Vizier said, 'The besieg'd cou'd not hold out three days longer, and that now they must either Conquer or Die; that the Poles were fatigu'd, and he did not fear them, and that they had already dealt with the Imperialists of whom he only apprehended the Courage and Conduct of their General; that he had rather die in the Field than by the Hands of a Mute, or live with Infamy. This Resolution taken, he left twenty thousand Men before the Place, and

march'd with the rest in three Lines to meet the Christians, who approach'd also in three Bodies. As we have not given a particular account of the Siege, any farther than it related to the Duke of *Lorrain*, so neither shall we farther describe the raising of it, than it has relation to the General, whose Life we write. The King of *Poland* gave him the charge of conducting the whole Army, which the *Turks* might have easily incommoded, had it not been for the Weakness of their own, and the prudence of the Christian General, who when he had descended the Hill, found the *Grand-Visier* drawn up in Battalia, and immediately put the Christians in order to fight. The Army was divided as has been said into three Bodies, and were attack'd on three sides by the Infidels; the Combat lasted three hours, and was violent for a time, each striving to signalize himself in the Action, and the Duke of *Lorrain* in it. The *Turks* fought <sup>most</sup> valiantly a little while, but were so bravely receiv'd, that had not Night favour'd their Retreat, they had been entirely routed; their Fright was so great, and their Flight so hasty, they abandon'd their Tents, their Baggage, Ammunition, Artillery, the Standard of the Ottoman Empire, and the Horse-Tail, the Ensigns of the *Visier's* Sovereign Power in their Armies. The *Grand-Visier* staid with the last, and then sav'd himself without his Vest; the rest of  
the

## Part II. Charles V. D. of Lorrain. 641

the Infidels took the way to *Raab*, where they arriv'd in a Day and a Night, tho' 'tis twenty five great Leagues or a hundred Mile from the place of Battel. The Duke of *Lorrain* complementing the King of *Poland* on this Victory, his Majesty said, *They all had a part in it; however, 'twas to him and the German Troops who first enter'd the Enemies Camp, to whom they must chiefly attribute the Honour.* The Duke wou'd have pursu'd the *Grand-Visier*, but the King of *Poland* thought his Army so fatigu'd with its long March, they wou'd want Rest and Refreshment. Had the Christians follow'd the Infidels according to the Duke of *Lorrain's* Opinion, they might have cut them in pieces; but while they were visiting and refreshing in *Vienna*, the *Turks* put good Garrisons into their Places as they fled, and cover'd themselves from the Insults of their Enemy. The King told the Emperor at their first Interview, *He was sorry they had not immediately pursu'd the Enemy, which the Forces he brought with him were not indeed very fit to do, having suffer'd so many hardships in their long and hasty Voyage.* The Duke of *Lorrain*, who cou'd be satisfy'd with nothing less than the entire defeat of the *Ottomans*, was more concern'd when he saw the Elector of *Saxony*, and several other Princes ready to retire before all the Work was done. This, as it had broke his Measures, so he labour'd to

Y y 3 prevent,

prevent, and prevail'd by his Reasons and Persuasions with all of them, except the Elector of Saxony to stay with their Forces. The Duke propos'd the Siege of some considerable Place, and immediately to seek out the *Turks*; which Opinion the Emperor and the King of *Poland* approv'd. So the 18th. of September, 1683. the *Imperialists* and *Poles* marched, and in two days after, encamp'd near *Presburg*. *Vienna* was besieg'd the 14th. of July, the Siege rais'd the 12th. of September, and in twelve days after, the Christians were at *Wiswar* near *Cammara* with part of their Army.

The rest staid in their Camp near *Vienna*, or were gone home; at *Wiswar* they learn'd that *Teckely* was with his Male-Contents at *Leventz*, that the main of the *Turkish* Army was near *Buda*, that they had made a great Detachment for *Gran*, and thrown four thousand Men into *Newhausel* to strengthen their Garrisons. The Duke of *Lorrain* was for attacking this last place, or forming the Siege of *Gran*; but the Season was so far advanc'd, the Country so destitute of Provisions for the Subsistence of the Army, and the Garrison so strong, 'twas thought safest to attack first the Fort of *Barcan*, which defends the Bridge of *Gran*, to which the King of *Poland* consented. Prince *Levis* of *Baden* with the *Bavarians* joyning the Army, gave them new Courage, so they pass'd the *Waag*, an arm of the

the *Danube*, the Horse pass'd first, and encamp'd on the other side, expecting the Infantry; the Duke of *Lorrain* sent a good Body of Cavalry to *Franschin*, where the Male-Contents had appear'd with some Troops. The Duke was expecting his Foot, and on the morrow, the 8th. of October, Count *Staremburg* was to joyn him, in order to their continuing their Design of attacking *Barcan*, when the King of *Poland* sent him word, ' He was gone before to attack the place agreed on, and pray'd him to follow him immediately. The Duke sent Count *Dunevald* to represent to him the necessity of their staying till the Infantry came up, and the danger of dividing in the neighbourhood of the *Turk's* Army and of the Male-Contents. The Count found the King a Horse-back, and his Majesty told him, ' That being inform'd the *Turks* were not very strong about *Barcan*, he saw no inconvenience in continuing his March. The Duke finding he was resolv'd, follow'd him, leaving only a Regiment of *Croats* to accompany his Infantry. The King was not a League from *Barcan*, when his Vanguard advis'd him, some Squadrons of the Enemy appear'd; he order'd then a Detachment to beat them back, which they perform'd; the *Turkish* Horse gave Ground, but being supported by a greater Body, the *Poles* were repuls'd in their turn; the King then sent other Squadrons, and

the Combat growing hot, he advanc'd himself with all his Cavalry. The gross of the Enemies Cavalry were about eight thousand, who till then, remain'd behind a Hill, and appear'd when least his Majesty expected them; so that before the *Poles* cou'd put themselves in order, they were charg'd so briskly, they were forc'd to flight, leaving their Baggage and some Colours behind them. The Duke of *Lorrain* being told, the *Poles* were engag'd, advanc'd diligently to assist them, and found their Cavalry entirely broken, and the *Turks* pursuing them very near; he immediately put the *Imperialists* in Battel-array, and himself advancing at their Head, struck such Terror into the Infidels, that they presently turn'd and fled to *Barcan*; yet the *Poles* were not quickly recover'd of their Fright, the King being missing, who pushing too far amid the Enemies to animate his Men, 'twas fear'd he had falle into their Hands, till some time after, the Duke had dispers'd the *Turks*, that he return'd to the unspeakable Joy of the *Poles*; and now the *Poles* were for going into Winter-Quarters, and leaving the Siege of *Barcan*.

The King seem'd willing to comply with their desires, till the Duke of *Lorrain* assur'd him of the little difficulty they shou'd find in their Enterprize on *Barcan*, though it were true as 'twas reported, that the *Bassas* of *Aleppo*, and a great Reinforcement from the

the *Turks* Army had joyn'd the Infidels near that Fort. His Majesty, on the Dukes entreaties, determin'd to Attack the Fort, and march'd at the Head of the two Armies. The *Turks* were rang'd in Battalia on a Plain, and were so far from fearing to be attack'd, that they offer'd Battle. The first Effort was on the *Poles* in the Left Wing, and the Infidels fell on so furiously, they began to fly, when the Duke of *Lorrain*, leaving his Line, ran to their succour, rally'd 'em to the Combat afresh, and broke in upon the Infidels with his *German* Horse, which the *Poles* seconded so well, that the *Turks* were entirely defeated. The Count *Dunewald* was here-upon Commanded to pursue them, which he did to the Gates of *Barcan*, where the *Turks* hurrying and crowding over, the Bridges broke, and a vast number of the Infidels fell into the *Danube*: so that of fifteen thousand *Turks*, but four thousand escap'd, the slaughter was so terrible, one thousand Prisoners were taken, amongst these two *Bassas*, and some *Agas* of the *Fanizaries*. The Duke follow'd his Blow, rais'd a Battery, and fir'd so dreadfully on the Fort of *Barcan*, that the Garrison Capitulated the same day, the 9th. of October 1653. though the *Poles* afterwards cut 'em in pieces, to the great grief of the Duke; who flush'd with this Success, was for besieging *Gran*, and to this his *Polish* Majesty consented. All things were preparing

paring, and Bridges laying over the *Danube* for passing the Armies; when the Enemy being afraid of the place, had strongly reinforce'd the Garrison. Their Army was still eighty thousand, and they made the King of *Poland* again resolve to withdraw; whom again the Duke of *Lorrain*, by his Insinuations and Reasons, prevail'd with to stay, fearing the Infidels might take hold of the Division of the Christian Army, and with the Male-Contents turn it to their advantage. The Duke, to lose no time, while his Majesty was for the Siege, order'd his Troops to seize three Posts, from whence his Artillery might play on the Castle. The *Poles* lodg'd on another side. In two days after the forming the Siege the Infidels were beaten out of the Town into the Castle, and the third they capitulated, though the Garrison consisted of three thousand Men, Commanded by two *Bassa's*; the Castle was surrender'd the 27. of *October*, the Duke having come before it the 22d. This glorious Expedition finish'd, the Troops of *Swabia* and *Bavaria* went home. The Season was bad, and the Armies fatigu'd, which compell'd his Highness to repass the *Danube*, and put the Troops into Winter-Quarters. The Male-Contents sent the Count *de Humana* with Proposals of Peace, to which the Duke of *Lorrain* answer'd, they must first lay down their Arms; so this came to nothing.

King

King of Poland return'd home also with his Army, though twas hop'd he wou'd have winter'd in Hungary against the next year. However the Duke of Lorrain assur'd the Emperor he wou'd reduce that Kingdom with the Imperial Troops, without the help either of the Poles or other Auxilaries. The Sultan was alarm'd at these Losses, for which the Grand Visir, Cara Mustafa, had a Bow-string sent him, and Cara Ibrahim the Baton of Command. Mighty Preparations were made for the next Campaign, and Reinforcements sent to the Ottoman Army, which the Grand Visir joynd in June 1684. The Duke of Lorrain on his part omitted nothing to secure and enlarge his Conquests : he was in Hungary before the Visir, and besieg'd Vicegrad the 17th of June, a Place of great importance, and Mistress of the Danube. The Duke of Lorrain fearing the Bassa was marching with fifteen thousand Men to cover the Place ; he met and routed him, took his Cannon, part of his Baggage, Colours, and a great number of Prisoners. This Action happen'd near Weilzen, which Place surrender'd at Discretion, after two or three hours resistance, the 28th of June. Pest was yielded up also a few days after Weilzen, and Vicegrad held out but few days. The Imperialists then fell on the Ottoman Army near Buda, defeated it and laid Siege to the Town, which was the Capital City of Hungary, before

before the Invasion of the *Turks*. The first part of the Siege promis'd well, for in eight days time the *Germans* had possess'd themselves of the Suburbs, and made a considerable Breach in the Town. The *Grand Vîsir* sent a *Serasquier* with twenty thousand Men to the relief of the Place, whom the Duke of *Lorrain* attack'd with fifteen thousand, routed the *Turks*, kill'd four thousand on the spot, took two thousand Prisoners, and left as many wounded with the Infidels. Their Baggage, Cannon, Ammunition, and the great Standard, as at the raising the Siege of *Vienna*, were also a prey to the Christians. In the mean time the Forces besieged the Town, Cannonaded it continually, and the besieged for two months together made such frequent Sallies, that the Christian Army was sensibly diminish'd, however the Works were advanc'd as far as the Ramparts, and a Breach of thirty Paces made. The Duke of *Lorrain* was preparing for an Assault, when he fell ill, and was oblig'd to retire, leaving the Siege with Count *Rabata*; who was a person of Courage and Experience, yet one that never was for hazarding his Troops. While the General was sick the Duke of *Bavaria* arriv'd at the Camp, who again summon'd the Garrison, promising them good Terms; but the *Turk* little terrify'd by the Succours he brought to the Besiegers, answer'd him with continual Sallies; and the

*Serasquier*

Serasquier being arriv'd with fresh Troops from the Ottoman Army, employ'd the Christians so much on one side, and the Besieg'd on the other, that whatever the Duke cou'd do, (after he was recover'd) to prevent it, the *Turks* threw Succors, and Provisions of all sorts into the Town, and a Reinforcement of ten thousand Men was marching to the Serasquier, which oblig'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to yield to the advice of his Council of War, and think of a Retreat, which he did much against his Inclination, but with much Honour; the Serasquier not daring to fall on his Rear while he broke up. *Buda* was besieg'd the 14th. of *July* 1684. and the Siege rais'd *November* 1. Such was the end of this Campaign, whose beginning gave hopes for better things. The Serasquier went into Winter-Quarters, and so did the Duke after he had put strong Garisons into *Vicegrad*, and *Weitzen*, and demolish'd *Pest*, which was so near *Buda*, 'twas not tenable. Early in the Spring the Imperial Army march'd to their Rendesvouz, and the Duke of *Lorrain* came to the Army near *Novigrod* the 8th. of *June* 1685. the 7th. of *July* 1685. he invested *New-hausel*. The next day the Troops of *Bavaria*, *Brunswick*, *Lunenburg*, and other German Auxiliaries arriv'd in the Camp. The Siege was push'd on with so much vigor, that the Infidels soon despair'd of keeping the Place. The *Turks*, during this Enterprize, surpris'd

surpris'd and pillag'd the Suburbs of *Vicegrad*, and besieg'd *Gran*, in hopes to make themselves Masters of that Town, or to oblige the Duke of *Lorrain* to raise the Siege of *Newhausel*. The Infidels had twice assaulted the Town, when the Duke of *Lorrain* had news of their being before it; and he was then preparing for a general Assault on *Newhausel*. He left Count *Caprara* with twenty thousand Men to cover the Siege, and march'd himself with thirty thousand more to *Gran*, the *Turks* being sixty thousand before the Place. The *Serasquier* hearing of the Duke of *Lorrain's* March, rais'd the Siege, and collecting together all his Troops, put himself in order of Battle, having a very advantageous Post, whence the Duke cou'd not draw him, till he feign'd a precipitate retreat. Their Baggage immediately gave way, and all things were executed as he design'd it shou'd be. No sooner was the Camp broke up, than they heard shoutings among the Infidels, on which the Duke concluded the *Serasquier* was following him, and it prov'd as he conjectur'd. The Duke, who wish'd for no more, prepar'd for the Combat, and commanded his Army to Face the Enemy. This march was in the night, and they continu'd in Battalia till day-break, when there arose such a Mist the *Serasquier* cou'd not guess at the number of the Christians, which not a little contributed to their Victory.

Victory. The *Turks*, when the weather was clear, came down from their Eminencies on the right Wing of the Christians, commanded by Prince *Lewis of Baden*; which Wing was immovable; the left commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria* was attack'd a moment after with the same Fury as the right had been; this Wing also repuls'd the Infidels, who despairing to break their Ranks, they attempted to Flank them, and that succeeding no better, they fell on Prince *Lewis of Baden*; the Duke of *Lorrain*, who saw the Efforts the *Turks* made, march'd slowly with the Wing he commanded, ordering his Men to sustain the Enemies first Fire, without the least discharge. The Duke of *Bavaria* gave the same Orders to the left Wing, insomuch, that after the *Turks* had made their first Discharge, the *Imperialists*, without making a single Shot before, return'd so terrible a Fire on the Infidels, they were forc'd to give way. The Duke order'd his Troops to push on by degrees without breaking their Ranks, while the *Hungarians* pursu'd them, who are us'd to their manner of Fighting, flying and rallying. The *Turks* when they were out of reach of the *Imperialists* Artillery, turn'd on the *Hungarians* and put them into some disorder, and this little Advantage, giving them heart, they charg'd the Christians a second time, and were again forc'd to retire. The *Turks* desperate in their Danger, threw themselves

selves on the Duke of *Lorrain's* Wing, endeavouring to Flank it. The Duke seeing what they aim'd at, disappointed the Enemy by doubling the Fire of his first Line, and according as the *Turks* advanc'd, he command'd Count *Dunewald* at the same time to march on that side, with the Squadrons and Battalions of the second Line, while the Duke of *Bavaria* coming up with his left Wing, the *Ottomans* began to be in Confusion, and were immediately put to flight; whereupon the Duke of *Lorrain* commanded a Body of *Hungarians* and *Croats*, with some Horse and Dragoons to follow the pursuit; the *Turks* made to a Marsh, but lost two thousand Men before they reach'd it, most of the *Janisaries* abandon'd by their Cavalry, were cut in pieces; tho' the Infidels wou'd again have rally'd if the Duke of *Lorrain* had not pass'd the Marsh the same way with his Army, which the *Turks* had pass'd before. This finish'd their overthrow, they left their Camp and dispers'd; the *Janisaries* killing the *Spahis* for their Horses, and as many were kill'd by the Confusion in their own Armies as by the Christians; three thousand *Turks* were slain on the place, eighty Pieces of Cannon with Mortars, Bombs, Ammunition, Provision and several Colours were found in their Camp. We have been the longer in the Description of the Battel of *Gran*, because 'twas so well fought both by the Victors and the

Van-

Vanquish'd; while the Duke was Victorious over the *Serasquier*, Count *Caprara* press'd forward the Siege of *Newhaussel*; the Besiegers defended themselves very resolutely for a long time, and at last wou'd have Capitulated, but the *Imperialists* wou'd not suffer them, so the Place was taken by Storm, and all within it put to the Sword, the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1685, after a Siege of six Weeks. The *Serasquier* strangled several Officers for not doing their Duty in the last Fight; he then sent a *Chiaux* to the Duke of *Lorrain*, with Propositions of Peace, and a Cessation of Arms, which the Duke gues'd was only to gain time, and despis'd the Message. 'Twas now time for the Armies on both sides to get into Winter-Quarters. The Duke of *Lorrain* first compleated the Fortifications of *Novigrade*, and block'd up *Agria*; the *Serasquier*, tho' in himself very brave, was for his ill Luck condemn'd to die by the *Sultan*. *Soliman Bacha*, then in *Poland*, had his Command, and the *Grand-Visier* being depos'd, he had his Place given him also, tho' in the present State of the *Ottoman Affairs*, the Gift was little worth.

The Duke of *Lorrain* having provided to take the Field early in the Spring, arriv'd at *Newstadt* with the Elector of *Bavaria* the 20<sup>th</sup>. of May 1686, where the Emperor then was, and where 'twas resolv'd to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Buda*; the

Z z Rendez-

Rendezvous was fix'd for the 18th. of June  
in the Plains of Barcam; Voluntiers ran  
from all Parts, and of our Nation, the Lord  
Cats distinguish'd himself there to the admira-  
tion of the whole Army, which was so nu-  
merous, and made so glorious an appearance,  
that the Duke of Lorrain said, He did not  
doubt of Conquest, tho' the Garrison was above  
ten thousand chosen out of the Spahis and Ja-  
nisaries for the Defence of Buda. The 18th.  
of June the Place was invested, the next day  
twas enclos'd on all sides where the Town  
cou'd be approach'd. The 22d the Tren-  
ches were open'd, and three Attacks resolv'd  
on, the first commanded by the Duke of  
Lorrain, the second by the Elector of Ba-  
varia, the third by Monsieur Schoning, Gene-  
ral of the Brandenburg Troops, to whom  
were added some Imperial Regiments. This  
famous Siege was push'd on with extraor-  
dinary Bravery by the Commanders of each  
Attack. The Grand-Vizier, while the Place was  
in this extremity, approach'd with an Army of  
a hundred thousand Turks, to throw Relief  
into the Town, or force the Christian Lines;  
he presented himself several times in Battel-  
order, he sent several Detachments of chosen  
Troops to endeavour to enter the Place, and  
by surprize some small Parties got into the  
Town. However, his Army by Desertion,  
Detachments and Skirmishes being consid-  
erably diminish'd, and by Misfortunes dis-  
hearten'd,

Hearten'd, he was in no Condition to attempt any thing on the German Lines, for which Reafon, the Duke of *Lorrain* resolv'd to storm the Place. Some of the General Officers advis'd to fight the *Turks* first, but the Duke said, *There was no reason to fear on their account; that his Army was almost sure of Victory, and encourag'd by the hopes of Plunder, wou'd fight with more Vigour, than if he shou'd carry them to fight an Enemy where nothing was to be got but Blows.* His Opinion prevailing for the Assault, he first order'd thirty thousand Men to draw up in Battalia, in a Plain opposite to the Ground which the *Turks* occupy'd, to deceive the Enemy, by making a shew, as if he design'd to attack them, and to hinder them from making use of the time he was about the Assault; and it happen'd as he intended it shou'd, for whether that the *Vicer* did not mind their design of a Storm, or whether he was afraid of the Christians, he made no movement. The next day after, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and General *Schoning* of the *Brandenburgs* had given the necessary Order for their several Attacks; the Assault was begun. Never was Storm enterpriz'd with more Warmth and Intrepidity, than this was by the Besiegers, and never Garrison defended themselves better than the sieg'd. The *Imperialists* were often repuls'd, till after several Efforts on one side and the

other, the *Bossa* Gouvernour being kill'd on the Breach, the *Turks* were forc'd in their Entrenchments by the *Imperialists*. The Brandenburgers at the same time entring the Town, the *Bossa*, who defended himself on the Attack of *Bavaria*, seeing the *Imperialists* had carry'd their Attack, and the Brandenburgers were in the Streets, retir'd to a Rondele rais'd between the Castle and the Town, where he surrendred himself at discretion. Thus was *Buda* taken by Assault by three severall Attacks at once, and by the Duke of *Lorrain* first; this Conquest was the more Glorious, being in sight of the *Grand-Viser* and the *Ottoman Army*, the *Turks* fighting in despair, dy'd most on the Spot, but about two thousand Prisoners were taken. In the Town the Christians found four hundred Pieces of Cannon, sixty Mortars, with an infinite number of Bullets, Granadoes, Carcasses, Bombs, and other Machins of War. Before the Town was taken, the President *Canon* arriv'd at the Camp from *Paris*, where he had been to demand Restitution of the Duchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, on Terms less severe than those propos'd at *Nimueen*, but he did not succeed in his Commission. And thus ended the memorable Siege of *Buda*, the 2d. of September 1686. after the Christians had been eleven Weeks before it. The Duke of *Lorrain* march'd to attack the Bridge of *Eszek*, and when he arriv'd at *Tolna*, he laid a

Bridge

Bridge over the River, in order to force the  
Vissier, who lay three Leagues off on this  
side Eſſeck, to Battel, but not being able to  
ſubſit in this Post, for want of Forrage, and  
being inform'd the Infidels were retir'd to  
Dacia, where they had a very strong Castle  
built, to cover the Bridge of Eſſeck; his High-  
neſſe left the command of the Army with  
Prince Lewis of Baden, General Caraffa and  
Houſler, and returned to Vienna.

In 1687. the Christian Army was not ſo  
strong as the preceding Summers, for want  
of the Auxiliaries, who were retir'd: How-  
ever being a Victorious one, the Duke of  
Lorrain made no doubt to be too hard for  
the Grand-Viſſier, if he durſt venture a Battel.  
This Prince arriv'd at Buda the 4<sup>th</sup> of June  
1687. and having given Orders for raiſing  
ſome new Works for the ſecurity of that  
Place, he march'd to joyn Count Scherffem-  
berg with nine Regiments near the Bridge of  
Eſſeck; on his arrival, he feiz'd the Fort  
which guards the Bridge on the ſide of Buda,  
and burnt that part of it which was carry'd  
over the Marshes along the Drave. The 1<sup>st</sup>.  
of July he came to Sicles, having endur'd ſe-  
veral Shocks, and lost ſome Men in his  
march. The Duke had design'd to besiege  
Sigrath, but the overflowing of the Drave,  
which render'd the Marshes unpassable, hin-  
der'd him; but as difficult as it was, at laſt, he  
paſſ'd the River, and march'd towards Eſſeck,

in three or four days march, coming in sight of the *Turks*. The Christians were not fifty five thousand strong, the Infidels eighty thousand; the Duke of *Lorrain* attack'd the first Line of the *Turks* Entrenchments, with the loss of eight hundred of his Men, and several Officers of Note; he then drew up his Army and offer'd the *Vifir* Battel, to which he cou'd by no ways draw him; the Armies cannonaded each other, and some Detachments engag'd with equal Advantage. The Duke finding the *Turks* were not to be forc'd, and wou'd not come out of their Camp, call'd a Council of War, where 'twas resolv'd to break up; the Fortress of *Eſeck* on the other side the *Drave*, playing continually on the Christians. The Duke of *Lorrain* made his Retreat in view of the *Grand-Vifir*, who durſt not stir out of his Camp. The Imperialists pass'd the River *Walpo*, and encamp'd within a League of *Mohatz*; the General sent five Regiments to reinforce the Blockade of *Agria*, and to cover *Siclos* and the five Churches, yet hearing that the *Vifir* with his whole Army had pass'd the Bridge of *Eſeck*, 'twas resolv'd to meet him, and endeavour to draw him to a Combat. The *Vifir* thinking the Dukes Retreat only a feint, suffer'd him to go off, but perceiving the Christians were really fled, he left the Post he was in, and follow'd them to *Darda*, where he entrench'd himself, and then remain'd quiet in his

his Camp, still very loth to come an Engagement with the Christians. The Duke of *Lorrain* to deceive him, discover'd by his Movements, that he fear'd the Battel, sometimes advancing, and then presently retiring; he made several Detachments, still ordering his Parties to be near at hand, yet all this cou'd not bring the *Viceroy* out of his Camp, and the Duke's Army not being able to subst. twas agin resolv'd to break up, and accordingly they began to decamp. The *Viceroy* believing now indeed, thar the Duke of *Lorrain* thought he was too weak to fight him, order'd a Detachment to fall on his Rear and his Baggage, and more Numbers coming up to assist the Infidels, the Armies were insensibly engag'd; ten thousand *Spahis*, and five thousand *Janizaries* march'd directly towards the *Imperialists* left Wing, which the Duke of *Bavaria* commanded with Prince *Lewis of Baden*; a great Body of Cavalry sustain'd by the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, also charg'd Count *Dunewald*, who bravely receiv'd them. The Duke of *Lorrain* form'd a Half-Moon with his right Wing, the right side extending towards the Enemies Flank, and were engag'd with them; the left towards a Body of *Spahis* and *Janizaries* that came down upon him. The Fight was long and bloody, the *Turks* were observ'd to fight in more Order, and with more Courage than usual; however, they were repuls'd, and be-

ing put in disorder, the Duke of *Lorrain* and the Elector of *Bavaria* turn'd it to their Advantage, and made a dreadful Slaughter of the Enemy. The *Vifir* appear'd in all Places to rally his Troops, and rally'd them several times, but they were soon forc'd to flee; and the most resolute seek their safety in the Flight. The Field of Battel remaining to the Christians, who follow'd the *Turks* to their Camp where many were slain, and those who fled towards the *Drave*, had been all destroy'd had not Night interven'd. The Enemy lost twelve thousand Men in this Battel of *Mohalitz*, which was fought on the 10<sup>th</sup>. of August 1687. the *Vifir* got together forty thousand Men near *Eseck*, whither he retir'd, and was in a Condition again to oppose the Duke of *Lorrain*, who try'd all methods he cou'd think of to engage the *Turks* once more before the Season drove him into Quarters. He march'd into *Upper Hungary* to bring Prince *Abafti* to Reason, and having left a flying Camp in *Lower Hungary*, and put Reinforcements in the Places that were farthest off, he advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, making as if he intended to attack *Temeswaer* to deceive the *Ottomans*. The *Grand-Vifir* sending a large Detachment on that side; no sooner had the Duke notice of this false Step of the *Vifir's*, but he order'd Count *Erdeir* to joyn Count *Dunewald*, and immediately to march towards the Place where

where the *Vicer* had fewest Forces together. The Infidels in their Surprize abandon'd *Eseck*, and *Dunewald* seiz'd *Walpo* with divers Castles, which of necessity must have been besiegd the beginning of the next Campaign. The Duke sent to the *Transilvanians* to demand Winter-Quarters. The States making some Scruples, he enter'd the Country, and seiz'd the Castle of *Samblock*, and then the Town of *Clausemburgh*, after which other Towns open'd their Gates and receiv'd Imperial Garrisons, while Prince *Abafti* was soliciting Succour at the Port. During these Successes in *Transylvania*, Count *Dunewald* took *Possegia* the Capital of *Sclavonia*, and the Turks abandoning their Castles between the *Drave* and the *Save*, the States of *Transylvania* put themselves under the Emperor's Protection, and agreed to give the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Troops Quarters on Articles; which Treaty being sign'd, the General left the Command of the Imperial Troops to the Duke *de Croy* and Count *Scherffenburg*, and put the rest of his Army into Quarters in *Upper Hungary*, after having viewed the Blockade of *Agria*. The Governour, as soon as he arriv'd before that Place, sent an *Aga* to compliment him, and to tell him, *He continued the Blockade in vain, for he was resolv'd to hold out to the last*; to whom the Duke reply'd, *That his Troops were as much resolv'd to attack him.* The General gave Orders

Orders for advancing their Works, and his Presence not being farther necessary, he parted for Presburg, where the Imperial Court was to assist at the Solemnity of Crowning the Arch-Duke Joseph King of Hungary, which was done the 9th. of December 1687. and the same day Agria was deliver'd to the Imperialists by Capitulation; the Gouverour protesting when he came forth, *That for seven Months neither himself nor his Garrison had seen a Morsel of Bread.* The Duke of Lorrain was receiv'd by their Imperial Majesties with unexpressible Joy; he staid at Presburg a few days, and then went to his Wife the Queen of Poland at Inspruck. The Emperor might easily have continu'd his Conquests, and made himself entire Master of Hungary, but the retiring of the Elector of Bavaria, who excus'd himself in pretence of his Sister's Marriage with the Prince of Toscany, and the Duke of Lorrain's Illness broke all the Measures of the Imperial Council. The Duke's frequent Vomiting, gave reason to suspect he was Poyson'd. The Physicians gave him over, but he recovering his Health some time after, their Joy was as great at Vienna, as their Sorrow before, and as their Grief was again at his Relapse. However, he on a sudden was restor'd, and his Indisposition seem'd quite gone, yet his Weakness wou'd not suffer him to undertake the Fatigues of a Camp.

The French King being resolv'd to impose the Cardinal of Furstemburg on the Chapter and

and Diocess of Cologne, sends his Son the *Dauphin* to attack the Empire in profound Peace. He besieg'd *Philipsburg* the 6th. of October 1688. and the Garrison little expecting, and little provided for an Attack, capitulated the 29th. of the same Month, to the immortal Glory of *Monsieur*, if we will believe the French Panegyrists. The Princes of Germany thinking themselves secure in a Truce of twenty Years, 'twas easie for the French to take Towns in a Country altogether defenceless; and such have been the Conquests which this Prince, who assumes the Stile of *Le-Grand*, has always made; he seiz'd the *Palatinate*, burnt *Spire* and *Worms*, bombarded *Coblentz*, destroy'd the Country of *Treves*, threaten'd to fire *Francfort*, ruin'd the neighbouring Towns and Villages, putting all to Fire and Sword, and making the most horrible waste that ever was seen in Christendom by an Army that call'd themselves Christians. The Season was so far advanc'd, that neither the Emperor nor the German Princes cou'd oppose the Progress of the French. About this time *William III.* King *England*, &c. was proclaim'd and crown'd by his joyful People to the great hopes of the Confederates, newly enter'd into a League against the French King. The Duke of *Lorrain* was indispos'd during the Preparations made at *Vienna* and other German Courts for the Campaign; his Highness extremely

tremely lamented his Indisposition, being never in so great likelihood to enter Lorrain since the Death of Charles IV his Uncle. While the French were burning and ravaging Wurtemburg and other Towns in Germany, they gave out that they were for Peace; on which the Duke of Lorrain wrote to the Emperor, That he ought to declare War, rather than make Peace with a Prince, the Violator of all Treaties, when 'tis for his Interest; that there was no need of a Manifesto, since the French King had declar'd himself an Enemy of the Empire by Acts of Hostility and Cruelty, which cannot be thought of without Horror. Such were the Sentiments and Expressions of the Duke of Lorrain; and the 4<sup>th</sup>. of March 1688. the Imperial Diet thunder'd out their Resolutions against the French King, as an Enemy of the Empire; and to back their high Words with their Actions, an Army was got together to act on the Rhine, to divide into two Bodies, one commanded by the Elector of Bavaria, the other by the Duke of Lorrain. The Duke of Lorrain being recover'd of his Illness, arriv'd at Coblenz in June 1689 where were already fifteen thousand Men expecting the Troops of the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Elector of Bavaria march'd towards the Upper Rhine with twenty two thousand Bavarians, Imperialists and Swabians, while the Elector of Brandenburg was about Cleves with twenty thousand

thousand of his own Troops, and those of Munster. During the Burnings and Wastings of the French, the Confederates were not idle, they drove the Enemy out of some Ports and Places which they thought they cou'd keep, and beat them in several Rencounters. All the Generals being met at *Francfort*, after *Keyserwaert* was taken by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the honour of Command was unanimously given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, where 'twas resolv'd to besiege *Mentz* and *Bon*. *Mentz* was invested the 17th. of July, and surrendere'd the 11th. of September; at the same time the Elector of *Brandenburg* attack'd *Bon*, which yielded to the Confederates the 15th. of October. 'Twas thought the Allies wou'd besiege some other Place, but the Winter came on so fast, and the Armies were so fatigu'd, 'twas time to leave the Field, and betake to Quarters. The Duke of *Lorrain*, after he had seen his Troops in their Quarters, parted for *Vienna*, stopping at *Ratisbon* to manage some Affairs with the Diet. As the Dukes of *Lorrain* are Princes of the Empire, he had before made his Application to the Representatives of the Body of the Empire, yet he did it in Form only, knowing the Princes who compos'd that Body, had Interests of their own to manage with the *French* King, and that the Empire cou'd not do him Justice without a War with

with France, which being now declar'd, he presented a new Memorial, and had an agreeable Answer from the Diet. All things seem'd to Favour this Prince, who was resolv'd to make an effort to enter his Territories early in the Spring to give France a Blow, she was not aware of, and cou'd not avoid. He study'd night and day to humble that proud Monarch, whose Treason is his Glory, and the Slavery of his Subjects, an eternal Proof that never any Prince less deserv'd the Name of Great.

He had not been lately at the Imperial Court, being detain'd by the War which employ'd all his thoughts; but the Emperor wanting him very much to assist at the Councils of War, he went from Ratisbon to Weltz three Leagues from Lintz, where he was taken ill of the Disease of which he dy'd, whose Death put all Europe in Mourning, except that Court which never mourn but when the rest of Europe rejoices. His Distemper (as he thought) took him first in his Ear, which being only a little Pain, he took no notice, and said nothing of it. He rose next day and continu'd his Journey, went to Church to the Morning Service, but was taken so ill, that he was forc'd to be carry'd back to his Chamber and put to Bed. The Defluxions fell from his Ear on his Throat, half an Hour after, he was blooded as he desire'd, which did no Service, his Pain increas'd, and

and his Strength fail'd, and he began to think his End approach'd. This thought struck him at first, till reflecting that Princes are mortal, as well as other Men, and that his Hour was come, he resign'd himself into the Hands of his Creator, order'd a Capuchin to be call'd, confess'd himself, and perform'd the last Duties of a Christian. The Father Rector of the Capuchin with some of his Fraternity waited on him in his Religious Exercises, and approaching to his Bed-side to kiss his Hand, he drew it back, and bid them read the Service for the Dead, which the Fathers did; and as they were reading it, his Speech fail'd; he made a sign to give him Pen, Ink and Paper, and wrote that he desir'd nothing, but that they wou'd pray to God for his Soul, his Sense being good to the last; he made another Sign for them to pray for him, and a few Minutes after departed this Life; being stifled with the breaking of an In-  
stume in his Throat, in the forty eighth Year of his Age, April 18. 1690.

Charles V. Duke of Lorrain had a noble Air, tho' he was modest in all things, and affected to dress Plain; he was very handsome in his Youth, in his latter days inclining to be fat and corpulent; his Actions shew him to be brave; he was a great Lover of Learning and Books, particularly History and Philosophy; who spoke the German, Italian and French Languages perfectly well, and understood

stood *Latin* well enough : He talk'd little, but always to purpose. He was grave and serious to Strangers without affectation, but gay and agreeable with those whom he knew familiarly. He lov'd Dispute, he delighted to maintain his Arguments, and would sometimes do it warmly. He was liberal according to his Ability, faithful to his Word, a good Friend, and ready to forgive an Injury. He was a Person of great Fore-sight, Industrious in his Endeavours for the re-establishing his Family, and of singular Devotion ; never Prince was better belov'd Living, nor more lamented Dead. The Elector of Brandenburgh gave him his Word at Mentz, ‘ That he wou'd not sheath his Sword till he was restor'd, and now desir'd the Emperor, that he might share with him the Quality of Father to his Sons : The Queen of Poland brought him four, the Eldest is since marry'd to Mademoiselle d' Orleans, and in possession of his Estates by the Treaty of Ryswick, on Terms not quite so severe as those of 1661 ; the Second is Bishop of Osnaburg ; a Third, Coadjutor of the Princes of Castile, worth two hundred thousand Crowns a Year ; and the Queen has only the Fourth to provide for.

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The End of the Second Volume.

A G M I

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